

AN EMIGRE LIFE

MARTA FEUCHTWANGER

VOLUME III



AN EMIGRE LIFE
MUNICH, BERLIN, SANARY, PACIFIC PALISADES

Marta Feuchtwanger

Interviewed by Lawrence M. Weschler

VOLUME III

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TAPE NUMBER: XVIII, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 11, 1975

WESCHLER: We're going to return rather quickly here to Sanary but first we have a few stories to tell from earlier times. The first story: we've just been talking in some detail about Thomas Mann's beginnings and some of his early writings back in the Munich days. You told me something which surprised me very much, that apparently Thomas Mann's father-in-law had been rather shocked and tried to suppress or to buy up all the copies of one of the first Mann novels. Maybe you could just tell the circumstances.

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know much about it. I didn't know the Manns. That was when I was not so very long back in Munich from our wandering. And I met Franz Blei, who was an Austrian writer, [and he wrote] in the way some baroque or rococo French writers wrote sometimes, sexy for those days, but it was very graceful and it was not rude or so. He wrote a little book which was called Die Puderquaste; this means The Powder Puff. So once I met him at Mrs. Wedekind's party when she was already a widow, and he brought me home through the English Garden (that is a big park). Before I had made him a scene because he was a little fresh, so he didn't dare to do anything more. He only wanted to anger me. He was furious with me. He

told me that--first of all, he told me that it's ridiculous that I admire the great playwright Gerhart Hauptmann, whom he detested; and he found it silly that certain plays I admired; and also the same was with Thomas Mann. Then he told me that Thomas Mann had written a novel--I had never heard about this novel--which was called Wälsungenblut. That was in the beginning of his career. It was before we met Thomas Mann. His father-in-law was a great mathematician, Pringsheim, and he had also a beautiful collection of Meissen porcelain, and was very well known as a patron of art. So Blei said that Mann's father-in-law was very upset about this novel, went to the publisher, and bought the whole edition and asked him to destroy it. Much later--that was what he told me--Blei went into the cellar (he was a lector at this publishing house) for makulatur (that means the old printed paper for wrapping other new editions, new books), and he found in one corner the whole edition of Wälsungenblut in proofs, in long proofs, which could be used as wrapping paper. He was already about to use it for this purpose, when he looked at it and saw that it is a novel by Thomas Mann. He read it and told me about it. But more--I don't know more about it.

WESCHLER: That novel was in fact not published until much later.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it wasn't. I was astonished that first

it has been destroyed and afterwards they published it again. But it's not my--it's not up to me to make a judgment about it. When they wanted to publish it is their business.

WESCHLER: Okay. I'll let it go at that. Another thing that you wanted to talk about, before we return to Sanary, was Black Friday, the stock market crash in 1929.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was--we didn't feel it too much immediately because we didn't know much about economics or politics or the mixture of both. But what we felt most was that all of a sudden there was a terrible unemployment. This unemployment became very disturbing when I wanted to furnish the house and finish the building because the workmen--you couldn't have overtime workmen; and the government didn't allow the overtime so more workmen would have worked. But in those days, Max Reinhardt built a new theater, and, what I didn't know, the contractor who built our house had a contract with Max Reinhardt that his theater had to be finished for a certain term. It was to be opened by Max Reinhardt for a first night. And since they had no overtime workmen, they worked at the theater, because they would have had to pay a great indemnification to Reinhardt if it hadn't been finished, and came to my house only for one hour in the evening, even though the bills which came were always for the whole day. I couldn't understand it. The workmen

came only in the evening, usually at five o'clock, worked from five to six, and then all of a sudden there came these big bills. There were lawsuits. We won these lawsuits, but it didn't help very much because most of the people against whom we won made bankruptcy and we didn't get any money out of it anymore.

WESCHLER: You also told me that you had read one article in particular about Schacht.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Georg Bernhard was the publisher of the Vossische Zeitung; that was one of the oldest German newspapers and belonged then to the Ullstein concern, and was, with the Berliner Tageblatt and maybe the Frankfurter Zeitung, the most important newspaper of Germany. He always wrote about Hjalmar Schacht, who was minister of finance and had a great name as the greatest financier of Europe. The only one who was against him was Georg Bernhard from the Vossische Zeitung, and he proved very conclusively that the whole, bad situation in Germany came from Schacht's politics, economical politics. In those days when the German mark was revalued and the economy in Germany began rising upwards, America invested money in Germany. It was even so that all the little cities and towns had to have a swimming pool, because the government told them they have to accept those credits. Some thought it was more important to build schools or hospitals, but it went all for swimming pools. The

people were not satisfied with that, but nobody knew exactly what happened. But when this Black Friday came in America in '29, then we knew what happened, because since those credits were all short-term credits, the creditors in America wanted to recall the loans, and, of course, the people had to give the money back. That's why many, many people in Germany made bankruptcy, and the workers were on the street. And also the big banks, the Dresdener Bank, one of the biggest bankers in Germany (it was a public bank), made also bankruptcy. And that was the beginning of the terrible tragedy, that people were sitting on the street, had no work, and all ran to the Nazis because Hitler promised them work and everything what they wanted to have.

WESCHLER: And ironically this was partly because of this finance minister.

FEUCHTWANGER: But nobody--even now nobody knows about it. The only man was Georg Bernhard, who was a great man, and he should have been listened to. He always says the whole fault was Hjalmar Schacht's fault. During the Nuremberg Trials he [Schacht] was also accused, because he was the financier also of Hitler, his finance minister, but I think he was either freed or had a very small punishment. But even that proves that he was not such a great man: he would even go along with Hitler and financed the whole war and everything. Always he said he is not an anti-Semite,

that he is a friend of the Jews in the same time, the French Jews. He said that, and I'm sure he was not: he was only power hungry. He did it because he wanted to take the power from everybody who offered it to him, and that was Hitler.

WESCHLER: Okay, well, coming back to Hitler and also to Sanary, there were some things that I wanted to get. We had discussed a few more images of Sanary which I thought were interesting. One of them was a story you told me about a meeting of two counts. You might tell that story.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. There came the--he was called the Red Count, Count [Michael] Karolyi from Hungary, who was right after the first revolution; after the First World War, he was prime minister and, I don't know, I think also president of Hungary. Later on Horthy [de Nagybanya]--Admiral Horthy, he called himself, although Hungary never had anything to do with the ocean--it is in the middle of the continent. Horthy, I think, overthrew Karolyi. I'm not quite so sure about the sequence of this history, Hungarian history, but it was a little bit like that. And Karolyi had to flee and went to Italy. And now--we have to go back--when he was at our house with his beautiful blond wife, the door opened, we were sitting in the garden room drinking tea, and Conte [Carlo] Sforza came in. He had been the foreign minister of Italy and didn't want to

stay in Italy, because he didn't want to work for Mussolini, so he went into voluntary exile in France. He had heard that we were living in Sanary and came to see us, and since nobody knew our telephone number or so, he just came to our house, entered by the garden door, and there he was-- Sforza. And when the two men saw each other, they recognized each other, and Count Karolyi crossed his hands so as to show that somebody was once in prison; and it was Sforza who had imprisoned him as a revolutionary. And then both men laughed and became good friends there. We all three were emigrants. Not we all three; I mean my husband and those two counts.

WESCHLER: Okay, some other stories that we've talked a little bit about. You had also mentioned that the critic Alfred Kerr had come to Sanary.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, once came, also without before announcing himself. Kerr stood before our house--he was a little man, straight as a rod and not young anymore--and he asked our maid if he could see Mr. Feuchtwanger. So she let him in. And that was Alfred Kerr. He always had been against my husband, first of all because my husband was for Brecht, and he had great contempt for Brecht. He was a great critic, really enormous with great culture, but his admiration didn't go farther than Ibsen. Even for Strindberg he had no real understanding. And [Brecht] and Bronnen, that

was for him just what--he even made verses about their names, and one was an old saying: Der Krug geht so lange zum Brunnen, bis er Brecht. And now Bricht means vomiting also. That means, Brecht (Bertolt Brecht) went to the fountain--that is Brunnen--until he is vomiting. That was a verse--alliteration, I think you call it. That was his poetry about those two.* So he had no great friendship for my husband, and also no great admiration. Even when one of my husband's plays has been played in Berlin, the time I told you about probably, when it was interrupted by the murder of the Austrian prime minister....

WESCHLER: You haven't told that story on tape. You told me off tape, but maybe you better tell that story first.

FEUCHTWANGER: Just now, you mean?

WESCHLER: Go ahead, you better tell us.

FEUCHTWANGER: When there was the first night of Warren Hastings in Berlin, the critic of the Vossische Zeitung was very enthusiastic before already when he saw it in Munich, this play, and we were all of great expectations that he would write a hymn about the play. But all of a sudden, during the intermission, there came the news that the prime minister of Austria has been assassinated by a man named Friedrich Adler, whom everybody knew (he was also a philosopher and politician). He did that because he *Kerr's verse ironically parallels the German proverb, "Der Krug geht so lange zum Brunnen, bis er bricht." ("The jug goes to the fountain until it"--the jug--"breaks.")

thought that this was a great nuisance, this prime minister, that he had to do it. Nobody, of course, was of his opinion, that he had to murder him, but he was a fanatic. And most of the critics were Austrian (including Stefan Grossmann, who was enthusiastic about this play and wanted to write a whole essay about it), but they have been called to their newspapers to write an article about the prime minister. Grossman knew him also personally.

WESCHLER: This was Karl von Stürgkh?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Stürgkh. And so, of course, the whole play was out then. People went home. It was kind of panic, what would happen afterwards, and there was no more mood for the play. But the next day Alfred Kerr wrote a critic and said only that Feuchtwanger is one-day fly, an eintagsfliege, something which is for one day there and the next day gone. Afterwards it was more that he himself was a one-day fly. But, of course, my husband never would have made an allusion to that, and he greeted him very, with very friendly words. We were sitting together, and we admired this old man who was so cool and reserved and also so stoical about what happened to him. He had fallen from so high: he was the real literary czar as a critic in Berlin, the whole Germany, and now he was nobody anymore. But he made beautiful poems later which were better than whatever he wrote before. He lived in England with his wife, who was a composer.

WESCHLER: You had also mentioned that Ernst Toller had visited you....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but did I tell you--or should I tell you that later?--about the composition of [Richard] Strauss? It has also to do something with Kerr.

WESCHLER: Okay, why don't you tell that story first?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. We have here [in the library] a first edition which is a luxury edition of a composition of Richard Strauss. It is almost not known; very few of the conductors who live now have heard about it, and as much as I know it has never been performed. And this story had also to do with Kerr. Kerr was a writer, an author, besides his critics; mostly he wrote about his traveling. But when his books have been published--he was always on very bad terms with his publishers and very angry, and one day he was so desperate, that he sat down and wrote poems against publishers. The same evening he met Richard Strauss in a concert and told him, "Oh, I feel so much better today. I wrote my anger down, and now I feel free of it." And Richard Strauss found that very comical and asked him, "May I read your poems?" Then he read it and found them very intriguing and asked Kerr, "May I compose them?" And that's why we have here this composition [Der Krämerspiegel], which is a rarity, also with illustrations. Maybe you have

seen it?

WESCHLER: You showed it to me.

FEUCHTWANGER: With illustrations. And maybe it will even be performed here; some of the conductors here have spoken about it.

WESCHLER: But I doubt it will have much of a publishing future.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and the funny thing was that, of course, they couldn't find a publisher, because it was against publishers. But then there was this famous man, Paul Cassirer; he was a patron of arts, and he introduced the French impressionists in Germany. He had a beautiful private gallery of all those, like in the Hermitage, and he was really also responsible for the change of the German painters who were in a way dependent on the French impressionists and only had their own style later. The German impressionists is another kind. But he really made the history of art in Germany, Paul Cassirer. And when they didn't find a publisher, he was the one who published it, in this beautiful edition with handmade paper and leather outside. It was an enormous expense, and he knew that he couldn't make any profit with it. But inside there is a handwritten letter by Richard Strauss, who thanked him for his courage that he published

it, and an autograph.

WESCHLER: Did you know Strauss in Germany at all?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't. He didn't live in Germany; he lived in Vienna. Ja, ja. But he was born in Munich, and his father was a musician in the orchestra, in the Hoforchester, you know, of the theater, later the state orchestra. I think he played the trumpet, his father. [laughter]

WESCHLER: We had been talking about Ernst Toller coming to visit you also.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Ernst Toller was also in.... He was a great friend of Ludwig Marcuse also; both were from Berlin. He visited for a while and told us about America. We didn't see him much; he was always traveling. And then he came to see us in Sanary. And there he told me all about when he was, I think, for five years in prison after the Räteregierung. He told me all the story about that.

WESCHLER: Do you remember any of it in particular?

FEUCHTWANGER: There is nothing which would be interesting enough. It was just that--he was not treated as well as Hitler was treated.

WESCHLER: Okay. You had mentioned to me the other day that in addition to all these guests, that some Nazis came searching for Lion.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I don't know if they searched for Lion, but anyway we always.... The mayor of Sanary told everybody, all his employees, not to give away our address. We lived outside of the village. And we were always astonished that he did that. So far from Germany--what danger could there be? But all of a sudden two young men came, and not only they came, they were already in the house when I found them. I met them on the terrace, and I said what they want, and they said, yes, they are coming--we didn't know anything--they are German, and they came just from Bruno Frank's house, and his maids told them where we lived. He said they brought us greetings from Bruno Frank, but I knew that Bruno Frank was not in town (he was in England then)--that was just a pretext to come in. So I ran back. I said, "Wait a minute," and I ran back and said to Lion, "You go into this room where they couldn't find you, not see you." Then I let them in, spoke a little short time with them, and then I sent them away. And afterwards the maire told me that they came to the mairie and wanted to know where Lion lived and they didn't tell them. At the mairie they didn't tell them (maire is a mayor). But they found out where the Franks lived and then from the maids of Frank--they had two of their maids from Austria with them--they heard our address. The maids told me afterwards that they also came in that house without even ringing the bell or so; they just

went into the house.

WESCHLER: You mentioned that this surprised you: you felt fairly secure in France at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we felt so secure we wouldn't have thought that.... Afterwards, when we heard that they went to--and also their lies, that they say they wanted to bring greetings from Frank and Frank was not even there, and when the maids told me that they just went in and didn't want to leave anymore, that they wanted to sleep there and things like that, so all that was a little suspicious. And then they left without seeing Lion.

WESCHLER: Was there any other trouble down the line from that?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I wouldn't.... No, they were all--people were very nice, and without our knowing it, without telling us, they even protected us and didn't tell anybody where we lived. Even those who wanted, our friends, had difficulties to find us.

WESCHLER: Did you stay in that same house your entire time in Sanary?

FEUCHTWANGER: After my accident, I had to find another house, because this house where we lived had no heating or cooking facilities and the winters were very, very cold. You couldn't stay in the house without heating; there was not even a fireplace there. So, when I was lying there in

this sanatorium in Bandol, my husband's assistant Kahn-Bieker visited me. He also came from Germany; he couldn't stay anymore. First they told him he can stay because his father died in the First World War; they said the son of a soldier who died couldn't be persecuted. But they didn't keep their word, and when he found out that it's dangerous, he left Berlin. When he left Berlin, he brought some little things from our house which he could take, were in a safe or so, some silver spoons and things like that, and a fur for me and some books. He was very fresh and went inside the house, even when the Nazis were already there. But the next day, when he wanted to take out--he took a taxi and wanted to take out the rugs, but everywhere was a Kuckuck [cuckoo]. You know what that is: that was a stamp on the door and everywhere couldn't break it anymore.*

WESCHLER: Oh, I see, it was sealed.

FEUCHTWANGER: Sealed, so he couldn't go in anymore. He was what they call in France a débrouillard, and he found everywhere somebody who helped him or so. First my husband, of course, took him in and also supported him, but he found then two ladies who had a pension near Bandol. At first he only lived there, and my husband paid for his living, but then he said he doesn't need anything anymore because those ladies adopted him in a way and he helped run their

*In her notes, Mrs. Feuchtwanger explains that "cuckoo" was the pejorative nickname for the official German eagle which appeared on all public documents (and hence seals).

pension, their boarding house. He felt very well; he was very spoiled. I never saw the ladies; I don't know whether they were young or old. Anyway, he was terribly spoiled; he dominated those ladies, that's what I know. He was also good looking. He looked a little bit like Yul Brynner--he had no hair, and he had the same fascinating for women. He came several times to see me when I was in the sanatorium because Lion had to go to Paris and London, and then I told him to find something, a house for us in Sanary. First he found a house which it then turned out the Franks also wanted. So we couldn't very well take it. It was offered to me before, but it was difficult, you know. It was a very beautiful house directly above the ocean, above the sea, but anyway it would have been too small because my husband wanted to have this library, the new library. And then Kahn-Bieker found an apartment which could have been interesting. In those days I could already go up with the cane, so I saw this house and found it beautiful; it had a great terrace and a beautiful garden. It was in the rear, but overlooking the ocean and also an island, and in the rear were the mountains, and all around very wild. But I said we cannot live in an apartment, that it would be too noisy if other people would come there. So I rented first the whole house, and then we had a bail on it, which meant that part of our rent went toward buying the house.

WESCHLER: I see.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. So since we lived several years there, we had almost paid for the whole house already. Then we lost this, too, with the whole library. And there were beautiful trees there, fruit trees, and it was very beautiful.

WESCHLER: How far from the actual ocean was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: From the ocean? Oh, we always walked down: it was not even five minutes. But it was steep going down; you could also go with the car, but it wasn't worthwhile. Down there were cliffs, you know, and you could bathe there. Nobody was ever there. Most of the people went to the beach. There was no beach, only between the cliffs. Our only neighbor was a gardener who had vegetables, so that was also helpful. All around were only wildflowers and wild brush and the garden itself with beautiful roses and so.

WESCHLER: How far from the city of Sanary was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, walking, maybe fifteen minutes or so. Not as far as the first. But then we had already a better car.

WESCHLER: I should hope so.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. [laughter] It was a Talbot, an English Talbot. The only thing was the gears: you had to sit on the wrong side. But it was not difficult to get accustomed to it.

WESCHLER: You've mentioned that library several times. What was it like? What was the French library like at its peak?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, that was a great library already, you know. My husband bought a lot of books. Most--and also many French books. They usually were not bound in France; the paperback was the rule, and very cheap usually, and also the paper usually wasn't good. But I found a very old, retired bookbinder who worked for me; he was very rough and difficult and old and grouchy, and nobody could go along with him.

But I had a help who was the wife of the man who made my sculpture [bust of Marta's head]. He was a painter and sculptor. And his wife came to me and....

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Adolf Seifert. He was from Poland, but he was already French. I saw them always going, he and his wife and a little boy, a little blond boy, and they looked like the holy family always; they were always together. She came one day and said--she asked at the mayor's office if she could find something to work because her husband didn't have enough money from his paintings. He also did painting work, but he became always ill from the white painting; he got lead poisoning. So she had to work for a while, and they told her to go to my house and sure she will find there something to do because I always occupied people who need it.

One day came a carpenter from the village to me;

he said he knows that we are emigrants ourselves and had not so very easy times, but he knew from my husband's books (which were also translated into French).... And it was amazing that a carpenter would have read the books. He said that he was very leftist. Everybody almost was Communist in the south of France because they were against the government; the whole south of France voted communistic, but they didn't know much about communism: they only voted against the government. But it seems to me that he was really very near to communism. He said that they know that we help everybody we could, and I should help him to take care of a Spanish refugee. It was just when Franco invaded Spain. He was an officer, a pilot, and descendant only of generals: all his family from way back were all generals. But he was for the legitimate government and didn't want to have anything to do with Franco, so he left with his family. He was still a young man and had two small children, I think. He left Spain and came to France. France took in everybody; that is in the constitution since the revolution. Everybody who is persecuted can find refuge in France. Also they took all the Spaniards in. But when they were in, then they didn't take care of them anymore; they just were on their own. Some came out with money, and for a while they had a kind of community, but this also didn't last long. Everybody had to work for his own or find food for his own.

So he came to Sanary and met this man who was, kind of, of the same political ideas and so. [The Spaniard] told him he should like to work and not always--and the carpenter took him in with his family. He had enough work to do, but he didn't want to live always on the hands of the carpenter, so he said he would like to find some work. So this carpenter came to me--everybody always came to me--and said, "We know that you have to do a lot for other refugees to support them," but he knows also from my husband's work that he is a humanitarian, and he's sure that we would help this Spanish man. But he said, "You have to be cautious. He is very proud. I offered him money for his family, and he said he wouldn't accept it without working for it." I didn't need anybody because I had this lady, the wife of [the artist], already. I also had a housekeeper who was already in the house before we took it over. So I didn't need anybody. But I said I would gladly offer you a sum so he could live for a while until he finds a better job. "No," he said, "he wouldn't accept any money. He wants to work." So I said, "Send him then here." He was a very elegant, good-looking man, who had still the good clothes from his better times. He said he wanted to work as a gardener. The wife of the painter also worked with the garden; she came always--I needed her in a way because I had all these visitors for tea in the afternoon, and in the afternoon you

had to water the garden. There were no sprinklers, as it is now, and there was a lot of watering to do. It took time. It was no hard work, but it took time. So I was very glad when I had to have those people--almost every day we had tea invitations in our garden, so she watered for me. But I didn't need two people to water. And I had a gardener who also worked before in the house. I couldn't throw him out, either. He was a very old man, a very old, nice man.

WESCHLER: You were employing half of Sanary as your gardeners.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ach! But I couldn't turn out the people who worked for this house all the time. So I said, "All right, you come and water the garden." Then he took the money. And it didn't need watering. The next day he came again, and it had rained--ach! Quarts came down. I said, "Why did you come today?" He said, "I come for watering." I said, "But it rained so terrible." He said, "It doesn't matter. You told me to come for watering, and here I am." The water was very expensive there, and I was very glad about the rain; it was real expensive, not like here. I said, "But wouldn't it be better if you wait until it's dry?" I said, "I pay you all the same because you came a long way." "No," he said, "I don't accept the money if you don't let me water." So I let him water. [laughter]

So it cost me double, the water and the man. Then, when it was dry again, he came to work, and I told him to take out the weeds. I showed him--I was rather a good gardener because I was used from Berlin to the gardening--how to take out [the weeds]. He had never worked in a garden. He had never worked at all. He was a pilot. So he began to work with me, and I showed him how to take it out without hurting the roots of the roses or so, which were all around, and it was all right. The next day I couldn't work with him because we had visitors again, and I had to bring the people with my car around, make excursions or so. Then when I came back, he said, "Oh, Mrs. Feuchtwanger, it's terrible this weed that doesn't come out. It's so hard to take out. They have so deep roots." Then I found out that he took out all the faux soucis, it was called; it's a kind of yellow flower you see here which covers the whole ground--they look like marguerites a little bit and cover the whole ground in yellow, and sometimes they close in the evening.

WESCHLER: I know what you mean, but I don't know the name.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, they were called faux soucis. Soucis means also trouble, worry. Wrong worries or something.

WESCHLER: False worries.

FEUCHTWANGER: False sunflowers actually. Ja, ja. And I think they are called African daisies here. And he took

them out, all my beautiful...which covered the whole slope, you know. So I said, "Those shouldn't be taken out; they are beautiful flowers." He said, "Oh, I am glad, because it was so hard." [laughter] But I paid him. And then one day he came and said, "I don't want to work anymore here. You know, I know that you pay me all the time, but you don't have work for me. I don't accept that. I am too proud. I am a Spanish man. I don't accept alimony, and I don't want to work anymore here." So that was the end of it. I was of course glad, but I helped him indirectly: I gave the carpenter money to get them through. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Were there many Spaniards who came to Sanary at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he was the only one. They came over the Pyrenees, but mostly to the west of France. There were lots of colonies. And when I was in the concentration camp, there was a whole concentration camp also for the Spanish people.

WESCHLER: What was the general reaction of the people in the emigré community in Sanary to the Spanish Civil War?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, they were all for the old legitimate government.

WESCHLER: Did any of them volunteer to serve in the Republican Army?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I wouldn't know about that. I know only that many Italians volunteered; they were called the Garibaldi

Brigade. Those were people who had to flee from Mussolini. The only really interesting thing was that the Italians were known as very bad soldiers. They had the name in the whole Europe. During the First World War they were--there were caricatures in the magazines and so, with the Italian army and the colonels always running, when it rained, with umbrellas, running away because it rained: they wouldn't stay in the war when it rains. I remember Count Li Destri: he was running with an umbrella. The Austrians, who were very good sharpshooters, marksmen, they were the only ones--and Hannes Schneider was one of the marksmen--who had respect for the Italians, because there were single regiments who were on the mountains, and they were also very good marksmen. He said that although they were enemies, they had full respect for each other because both were so good marksmen (bersaglieri). But not the infantry. The infantry--they didn't want any of this: they didn't want to make war anyway. So at least was--that was their name, their renommé. But the Garibaldi Brigade was known as the most courageous brigade of all of them. Most of them died. And I knew [Alfred] Kantorowicz, you know, who was also in--maybe you heard about Kantorowicz.

WESCHLER: I've heard the name.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he's a writer also. He went later to East Germany and then he went back to West Germany. And also the one who wrote ... at Midnight. He's a Hungarian writer. He was made a prisoner of war by Franco. I have to look it up; I

have it written down. A Hungarian-German writer, and he wrote an anti-Communistic book which was very famous.

WESCHLER: Oh, Arthur Koestler.

FEUCHTWANGER: Koestler, ja. And he was also a volunteer journalist in Spain.

WESCHLER: Darkness at Noon.

FEUCHTWANGER: Darkness at Noon, that was written afterwards, ja, and it was against the Communists. But at that time, for the English newspapers, he was correspondent, in the liberal part, the legitimate part of Spain. And he was taken prisoner and should have been executed--he was already in a van with others to be executed--and then the English government could free him. He was not English, you know, but he wrote for English newspapers. Spanish Diary.

WESCHLER: You say you knew him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he came also to see us. He came after he was freed from Spain. The only trouble was that he had a very terrible experience, it seems to me, in Spain, and he began to drink. He was such a gifted writer but he drank terribly.

WESCHLER: Already in Sanary.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, but after he was in Spain.

WESCHLER: What was he like besides that?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was very nice, a real Hungarian, very--

he always said, "I want to be a writer like your husband," he told me, you know. He always liked to say nice things. He was not yet the man of Darkness at Noon. (I knew only the German title.) He was very much a gentleman.

WESCHLER: What was his feeling about communism at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was more or less for communism, like all those people who were--they were not Communists, the Spaniards, but they knew that the only nation that didn't go with the Nazis were the Russians. So they were all, of course, for communism.

WESCHLER: Okay. Before this tape ends--we're near the end of it.... But we had begun to talk a little bit about the library at Sanary. Do you remember any particular volumes that were especially memorable in that library?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, there were many the same as we have here, you know, because when they were lost, then my husband bought them again. Many classics. Some of them came over here because they have been sent, but most were lost finally. We paid for the whole thing, and they were lost in Lisbon, in the port.

WESCHLER: You paid to have the library sent?

FEUCHTWANGER: We paid, ja. For the packing we paid, and for the sending. And then they stopped in Lisbon. It was already the beginning when Hitler scuttled those ships

and so. They told us afterwards they were standing always outside in the port, in the rain. We became maybe two or three cases, which were all soaked. Inside they had black paper, and the black paper ran and spoiled the books; and then they were full of sulfur (there must have been great sulfur deposit there, you know, to go overseas). So not much was left. The whole thing had been ordered to be packed by the secretary; she had taken a moving van or so, ordered it, sent it to Marseilles, and then to Spain, Portugal, and then to Lisbon. But there everything was lost.

WESCHLER: Was this after you were already in the camps that it was packed for you?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. I wasn't there. I know only that the secretary was also in the camp at first, but she was freed because she had made a marriage with a Swiss [Humm]. Her sister was married in Switzerland. They took this occasion that she could marry when she came from France. She visited her sister in Switzerland, and they married there in Switzerland, to get a Swiss pass. When she was in the concentration camp, she has been freed because she was Swiss by marriage. And then she went into the house which we owned and had the books packed and paid for everything, but they didn't come, did not arrive. Love's labors lost.

WESCHLER: What was the size of the library compared to the

one you currently have here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, about half of it. It could also be less, because now there are 35,000 books. I don't think we had so many then. We were not long enough there.

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AUGUST 11, 1975

WESCHLER: Just talking about the library being as large as it was indicates that you must have been getting fairly large royalty payments at that time.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Ja, ja, my husband was never very parsimonious: when he had money he spent it, and it was a good spending for the books. But it didn't help when we didn't get the books anymore.

WESCHLER: Were there any times during the period in France where you were not...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, in the beginning we had no money. But then the publisher sent some money finally, you know, Huebsch. But it was also not so easy to get the money out or in, so I don't know. And then France froze our money when Hitler came.

WESCHLER: Well, we'll get to that in a little while. But generally you were not in bad times financially?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, fortunately we could help the others. Once it was not so easy because my husband--that was already when we were here. We became very hard times. We were already in this house, but we had no money anymore to furnish it. We had bought the house with the money--always when it was an end, something came. When we came

here, it was very expensive to come over. My husband had to bring his two brothers out of Germany; we had the secretary in Switzerland, and the assistant had to be helped; the brother in England had to be helped; and my husband paid monthly, you know, for his brother and sister in New York and one brother in Bogotá. And then, when it looked very bad, all of a sudden, there was a magazine here--Collier's, maybe you heard about it--and they bought a novel of my husband. They printed the whole novel, prepublished it. [Lautensacks] And those were always great sums, you know. So we finally could buy a house. At first we couldn't buy the house because also our money here was frozen; we couldn't get the money out. But we didn't dare also to buy a house because we thought it could be like with the Japanese, that they send us away because we were enemy aliens. We had curfew even. We couldn't go out after eight o'clock. So we even didn't want at first to buy a house. But the rented houses were very expensive always. It wasn't worthwhile; it would have been better to buy a house. And then finally we could buy the house with the Collier's money.

And then Arnold Zweig was in Israel and was very unhappy there. He couldn't write in Hebrew. He was a German writer, and they didn't like the Germans very much because they [the western Germans] were always before very

contemptuous of all those eastern Jews, you know. But not--Zweig was not contemptuous, because he was himself from the east of Germany, which was very near to the eastern Jews; he was very much in sympathy. So we had Zweig. But as a whole the German Jews were very assimilated and a little contemptible of the more proletarian eastern Jews. And yet the eastern Jews were very cultured. Always. Lithuania was one of the most cultured countries in the world, and that was mostly the Jews who were cultured. But we didn't know much about that. But without the eastern Jews, Israel would have never existed; they made the whole thing. So when the Jews had to leave Germany, or were thrown out--no, they were not thrown out; they were either killed or they left--they were very glad to go to Israel, but then the Jews there really rubbed it in. They had all the right to do it, really. And I was always on the side of the eastern Jews, because I didn't like this attitude of being more Gentile than the Gentiles.

WESCHLER: This from your very early days in Munich when you stood up for them.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, that's true. But anyway, Zweig was very unhappy there. The attitude against him was not very kind, and also that he couldn't write in his own language. So he wanted to go back to Germany, and there was no way. But then he went back to East Germany, and my

husband had to finance the whole transfer of his family and his furniture and everything, and help him there in the beginning. He did it voluntarily, I mean, without any thinking, hesitation. But then, all of a sudden, my husband sold--and that also was not difficult in those times here--a book to the movies. He expected a great sum, so he gave all he had, all the cash he had, to Zweig. But all of a sudden this company made bankruptcy. He not only didn't get the money he was promised in his contract, he even had to pay for the lawyer, the lawyers of my husband had to be paid a lot of money. And we had nothing. We were here in the house; it was half furnished; we had his secretary here--and that was the end of it. Then he tried to get a loan for the house, I don't know how you call that.

WESCHLER: A mortgage, or remortgage it.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, it was impossible. When I asked the real estate people or finance people, they didn't even come and [look]. "It wouldn't pay. We wouldn't have the gasoline to look at the house to see if we cannot give you a mortgage." They didn't even come and see it. There was a lawyer in Pacific Palisades who was a great admirer of my husband, and who came right--first we had a furnished house before we found this one, in Pacific Palisades, and he came right away to see us, to ask us if he can help us. And then he

also looked with me together for houses until I found this one, without him even (but it was just a chance that I found this).

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Scudder. Probably you know the name, Eric Scudder. He died about half a year ago. He was a great friend of ours, and he was such a great admirer, with his wife, of my husband. He had read all the books before we knew him already. So when he heard that we are in Pacific Palisades, he came right away to this furnished house where we were. He brought even a lamp, which he didn't need. He said, "I have a lamp here which I don't need in my house"--he built just a house up here on the hill--"maybe you can have a use for this lamp." I think it is this one here. Ja. And he stands there before the door: I open the door, and here is this elegant man Mr. Scudder with the floor lamp. He was fantastic. He helped me with the contract with the house, with the university, all those things, without even charging me. So I went to him and I said, "You know, we have to make some repairs on the house (there is always something to do with the roof and it rains in somewhere)--and I would like to have.... Could you tell me how to go about to get a mortgage?" And he said, "I will try." Then we finally got a mortgage, what we needed, just that. And I think that he paid it, the

mortgage. I think he did it from his own pocket; not only that, but he never told me. He just said it's a mortgage, and we had to pay the interest and so. He also found houses for Hilde, who lived with her mother then; and he always found houses where she had to pay almost nothing, because there were people who went away for a long time, half a year. He said these people have to be grateful to have somebody living there in the house. So he helped in everything, always. Finally we could pay back, you know, later, the mortgage. But I think even if we couldn't have paid, he never would have told anything about it. Maybe he could have deducted it from the taxes as a bad credit or--what is the contrary of credit?

WESCHLER: Risk?

FEUCHTWANGER: Risk or something. You can deduct it; that was the only thing. But we paid it back of course; it was several thousand dollars. I don't know, \$10,000 or something like that. So always something happened to help us. But it was very bad. And I remember I should have gone--I had a bad tooth, and the dentist told me I need a golden cap on the rear tooth. But when he told me the price, I said I don't have the money, so take out the tooth, I said. He had to take it out because I had no money.

WESCHLER: This was here in Los Angeles.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, here in Los Angeles. The rearest tooth,

but I've never missed the tooth. Anyway, I couldn't afford a gold cap. "Just take it out, " I said. [laughter] But then when we got this mortgage, it helped us at least breach until my husband had new income from royalties. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Let's return now to a little richer period in Sanary, and then we'll gradually work our way back over here.

It just occurred to us that two of the denizens of Sanary we haven't spoken about yet are Franz Werfel and his wife Alma. You might begin by telling us how you first met him.

FEUCHTWANGER: I met him first in Paris during the PEN Club congress. My husband was a delegate of the German part, and Werfel was a delegate of the Austrian delegation. There was a big banquet where speeches have been made, and my husband spoke, of course, about what was next to us, about the emigration and the tragedy to be away from the country of the language which you write. And mostly he spoke about the danger which Hitler means for peace also; because it was in '37: nobody thought about war. But he already warned them. And then Werfel spoke, and he spoke with allusions which were all against my husband. The French didn't very much understand what he wanted to say; he didn't speak very well in French. I don't even remember; I think he spoke French, but some also only spoke German

and it has been translated. Afterwards we didn't mention it, but my husband and I, we knew absolutely that these words were against him. That Lion was in Russia, for instance: Werfel was very much against that. He was very Catholic and anti-Communistic. His wife was Catholic by birth and he was--not a convert, but in his mind, he believed in Catholicism. He was a very religious man, and his wife-- I always called her a heathen. I said, "You are not a Catholic; you are a heathen." And she laughed, because she never went to church. But I know that Werfel went to confession and Holy Communion. I think it's called the Eucharist here. Ja, ja. We couldn't understand why Werfel was so aggressive. We admired his work very much, mostly his Forty Days of Musa Dagh. My husband always thought about an author--when he admired his work, he didn't mind if he had another opinion in politics. But afterwards it was very cool when we spoke after this speech. The next day he came to our house, to our hotel, to visit us. That was very strange after the speech. We didn't mention the speech. But my husband was always--he could never lie. He was a very bad liar. So he had to speak about his opinion, about his political opinion, and also that we should be glad that the Russians don't go with the Nazis. I was very stupid and mixed in, gave my own opinion, and said, "Of course, the Russians are glad that they got rid of

czarism. They are better off now, probably. There are no serfs anymore, and they don't starve anymore. And the best of all is that all are poor. First there were only very poor and very rich, but now all are poor!" Then Werfel became so furious--he was an Austrian, who are very polite always, and very gallant, but he shouted at me. I thought I was wrong, because I shouldn't have mixed--I was not very women's lib, you know; I thought the men are more intelligent than the women and I have to listen--in a way I was sorry that I mixed in this conversation. But he immediately was sorry himself and said, "Oh, I shouldn't have done that, to shout at you, I admire you." And he kneeled down before me and begged my pardon. But then the conversation was continued--and it was not very soft--between the two men. But my husband ended it by ordering caviar. So we made a big reconciliation. Reconciliation over caviar. [laughter]

We were on very good terms always, but the terrible thing was that my husband never could let him alone and always began about politics to speak with him. When he was here--he was already very sick for a while--the Werfels invited us several times. I always told my husband, "Don't speak about politics with Werfel. He is always so excited." (He was very temperamental and could easily get excited.) And Lion said, "No, I won't." But it was

inevitable: they always began again with politics. So I said to Alma Werfel, "I think you shouldn't invite us anymore. It's terrible. He gets so excited. My husband doesn't mean it, but he always excites your husband." And I really--we were not so many times more invited. But she always was very helpful, and I couldn't complain about them.

WESCHLER: Back in Sanary, they arrived fairly late.

FEUCHTWANGER: First of all, in Austria they were, and Austria wasn't invaded. But still they went away from Austria before it was absolutely necessary, and they were mostly in Paris, I think. And then they came in summer usually. They had a tower, a Saracen tower. They lived there on the border, also high up, very near to Thomas Mann's house, which was called The Villa Tranquille. (There was [a sign] outside, you know, where it said that.) The funny thing was that Thomas Mann wrote his long books (I think it was the Joseph and his Brethren)--he had a very little room, and a very tiny, little desk, and there he wrote his BIG stories. [laughter] I could never understand that but he liked that. Of course, he was also homesick for his house. When he was here, he had a better--but still it was not a big study.

WESCHLER: And meanwhile Werfel was writing--around that time, he must have been writing The Song of Bernadette.

FEUCHTWANGER: In Sanary, he wrote his novel, Der veruntreute Himmel, The Embezzled Heaven. It was a very good title. That means it was stolen in a way, but it is an older word, and a very beautiful novel. We read it already in manuscript. And when he wrote, his wife said--he had a little room up on the tower, only one room; below there was an apartment in the lower part--she said he didn't even come down: when he wrote he was absolutely in a trance (he had to finish his work and then he came down).

And when my husband once had to go, he had to travel--I think it was when he was in Russia--they invited me always to dinner, and she did her best to make very good dinners. She had a very good cook. In France, it was difficult to keep somebody: when the people had earned for a while, then they wanted not to do anything anymore, so it was very difficult. But she soaked the girl. There was a woman, and she soaked her in amity and money, just to pacify her so that she would stay there and cook. For me they cooked trout; from far away they got trout. A very good dinner. And we were sitting there, enjoying the dinner, when all of a sudden, both of them had an argument. That was very--that was always, they argued. (They loved each other very much. She said he was the only man she really loved, after she was married with Mahler and Gropius.) But, all of a sudden, she said, "Don't forget, I'm not Jewish. I'm not a Jew." Or something like that. The trout

was sticking in my throat. I didn't know what to do: I'm here a guest and I should have.... But she didn't mind that, and they were continuing their argument. Finally they had finished their argument and began again to eat. The dessert--it was very nice afterwards again.

WESCHLER: Of course Alma Mahler Werfel is one of the most legendary figures we had around. How did people feel about her?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was like that. In Sanary, they were not very well known, and most of all they didn't speak French, both of them. Although they had always money and had always a taxi, in Sanary people were suspicious of people who had always money (they always thought they are Nazi spies). Many of our friends they considered Nazi spies. There were also Nazi spies there. And I told you about this man who was from the German Embassy. I told you that he was married....

WESCHLER: I don't think you've told it on the tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, I see. There was a spy, an official spy there. He was an attaché of the German Embassy. He was married with a half-Jew. They were divorced then, but they still were together. And the half-sister of this half-Jew, she was a very beautiful girl, a baroness. She was the daughter of a German general, but very liberal, and she didn't want to stay in Germany. Sybille von Schönebeck.

She wrote later very famous books in England, mostly about real criminal facts and trials. Like Macaulay or something, ja, ja. And Sybille was a great friend of Mrs. Huxley. But how did I come to those?

WESCHLER: Because you are going to tell us about spies.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, about spies. And the former husband of this half-sister of Sybille's came always to Sanary. He was kind of tennis coach there. He came to me and asked me if I wouldn't play tennis with him. He said, "I don't want to be a teacher or coach. I just want you as a partner."

WESCHLER: A likely story.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And I said, "That's very nice of you, but I wouldn't have the time. I have so many visitors always, I have to be home and take care of the visitors and drive them around in the countryside and so." But he was always very polite and nice. Later I met another gentleman, a Frenchman, who was a lawyer, a very good looking man, [Cotton (?)] and he took me aside once and said, "You know, I'm a counterspy. And this man which you call Spatz"--which means "sparrow," and he was very popular with the girls there and very good looking--"he is a German spy. We don't want to denounce him or to expel him"--which they could do in those days--"because we know him now. If he is expelled, then there comes another, and we wouldn't know who it is. So we rather prefer him to have here." And so

they were sitting together in the cafés on the port, you know, and taking the news out from one another. Nobody knew exactly how it was, only this man who was a counter-spy and a lawyer and a kind of playboy, a very good looking man. So only he told me because he thought also that I should be warned. That's why he told me. And the spy, he went very often to Germany and brought all these things from Germany for his two girls, for his former wife and her sister, [laughter] some tricots, things which were difficult to get there, woolen things which were difficult to get in Sanary. Also a radio he brought once, I remember, a German radio. But did I tell you about my greatest and famous art historian? [Meier-Graefe]

WESCHLER: You told me something. What is this?

FEUCHTWANGER: He lived also in the neighborhood of Sanary, in Saint-Cyr, it was called. He had to go every year--he was a Gentile also--to Germany because he could not get his money out, and he couldn't live without money. So he had to go there, and always he bought things there, bought things for friends. For instance, he brought always cars from Germany, and he could sell them to his friends. He was not a dealer or so, but he knew that many people would like to have a Hanomag--that was the smallest car I have ever seen, much smaller as a Volkswagen or the smallest car you get here--and he brought them always from Germany. And

once, when he drove--his wife drove, he didn't drive.... He was very tall, had very long legs, a wonderful-looking man, very witty and very famous also as an art historian (everybody who has to do with art knows his name). And once it was a bad road, and the car broke in two, and he was standing with his long legs in the middle of the road. Before and behind him were the parts of the Hanomag. He went back to Germany and bought another one. [laughter] But when he told us those things we were all laughing; we were lying under the table for laughing.

WESCHLER: Okay. One question more about Werfel: you say he was very religious.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was very Catholic. But he never converted to Catholicism--although he wanted very much--because he said he couldn't do that during this Hitler time, because that has nothing to do with his belonging to the Jewish group when he has this religion. [He thought] it would have been too much in bad taste--and he was right, of course--to convert, though he was Catholic, also here. He lived [at 610 North Bedford Drive] in the neighborhood of a Catholic church on Camden Drive in Beverly Hills. So every Sunday he went to church and confessed and took the Eucharist.

WESCHLER: Did he ever officially convert?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I just told you.

WESCHLER: Not even when he came here?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he died then here [in 1945]. After Hitler or so, maybe he would have officially converted, but I don't know; he died before that. And also his funeral was absolutely Catholic. A Catholic priest spoke. I knew him very well: he was a German who had his church in the Spanish quarter, on Olvera Street. There is a beautiful old church, and he was the priest there. And the day after he spoke at the funeral of Werfel, he came to our house and thought Lion would be the next he wanted to convert. He was very chivalresque; he always kissed the ladies the hand.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had a Latin name--Pater Moenius or something like that. And he went back to Germany; to Bamberg. And then he died.

WESCHLER: How did Werfel and Mann get along?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very well. They had much respect; they admired each other. It has to be, as colleagues. And they were not so far apart in politics as my husband and Werfel was.

WESCHLER: Well, getting to this political thing, we've got something that has been on the horizon for a couple of these stories, and I want to get to it. And that's Lion's trip to Moscow.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. He made himself many enemies with this

trip.

WESCHLER: Now, how did that come about?

FEUCHTWANGER: Also he wrote a little book which is called--"I wrote a book for my friends"--he called it Moskau 1937, [Ein Reisebericht für meine Freunde (My Visit Described for my Friends)]. And there he was full of admiration for what the Communists created in Russia, that the people didn't suffer more, and didn't starve anymore, the industry they had created, you know, from the rubble. So he was full of admiration of this progress there, and he had also the impression that the people were very happy.

WESCHLER: Why don't we begin with the beginning? How did it come about that he went to Moscow?

FEUCHTWANGER: He has been asked by his friends to go there. There were lots of German writers who had to go to Moscow because they couldn't--it was too late to come to France. When they had to escape, you know, many had no money to escape, and they thought this will go over maybe and then they could [return]. So when it was so dangerous that they had to flee, they went to Czechoslovakia, most of them; and when Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Germans, they had to go to Moscow. And so in Moscow there was a big, rather big community. The playwright Friedrich Wolf, for example. He was a famous playwright in Germany, and he was even in jail because he wrote a play about Paragraph 218,

about abortion [Cyankali]. He was a doctor himself and his wife was a doctor; he wrote a play about abortion and then they sent him into jail.

WESCHLER: This was when, did you say?

FEUCHTWANGER: In the Weimar government already. He was not allowed to speak about abortion. And then he wrote very famous plays; also this was very famous. He was one of the most played writers in Germany. Later he wrote plays, Die Matrosen von Cattaro and Dr. Mamlock. And all his plays, his books, have been made into movies in Russia then, and played a lot. He became a Communist in Russia, but he was not a Communist then. There were others who came from Berlin. There was Johannes R. Becher, who was a son of a high official, a high lawyer. He began as an expressionist poet, and then he became also a writer and wrote more normally. He became later the minister of culture in Berlin, in East Berlin, and was instrumental for the Berliner Ensemble, for Brecht having his own theater.

And all those people were there sitting in Moscow, very unhappy because they could only write in German. They didn't know anything else. So they asked the government in Russia if they could make a German periodical, a literary periodical. Then they got the answer by the government that it would be financed if they could have some good names, some representative names. And since Brecht was not

very known in those days yet--and Brecht also was not yet in Russia, by the way--then the writers there proposed Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Mann, and Brecht. And those three were accepted by the Russians. They said, "Yes, we will finance it if you can get Feuchtwanger here to begin to make the whole thing rolling." So they asked my husband to come to Russia, and they would pay for the trip. My husband didn't want to do that because he was just in the middle of his new work. He was beginning with the last volume of Josephus [Der Tag wird kommen] and it was very hard for him to interrupt that. But he couldn't refuse that to his colleagues who needed him. And also he didn't accept the money; he says he pays for his own trip. He didn't want to be bribed, so he could be more objective when he had to judge, probably.

He had to go first to Prague, and there he was received by [Eduard] Beneš, who asked him to come back on his way back to Sanary and to make a lecture in Prague. (This is very important to know.) Then he went to Poland--he had to go like that, to Poland--and in Poland the train was stopped and he almost was arrested because they said that he had the czarist jewels with him. Some German spies or so must have claimed that. The whole train was searched, but they didn't find any jewels. So my husband could continue to Moscow. [laughter] He was not molested or anything.

He just had to do that because that it has been told.

And then in Moscow he was received with great honors. He was very well treated there. He paid his whole way. And also Ludwig Marcuse was there with his wife, and he paid also for them. And another lady who lives now here in the neighborhood [Eva Herrmann], who is a painter (the daughter always from this man in whose apartment Georg Kaiser lived)--she was an American by birth, and she also was there. She was a friend of Johannes R. Becher before, but then he was already married to another (she wanted to marry him, but her father told her that he would disown her if she married this man).

And then Lion was also asked if he would like to meet Stalin, and, of course, my husband was very curious to meet him. He was not very much for him, because he heard many things he didn't like before. But when he was there--he was for four hours there--he said it was one of the most interesting times he ever lived through. There was only--there was no interpreter there because they had Mr. Tal, who was the publisher of the Izvestia, the greatest newspaper, or Pravda, one of those (I think it was Pravda). He was the only man who was interpreting, and they spoke very long about all kinds of things and had great discussions. And once Stalin was very angry and said, "You say that, you who have written the Oppermanns!" So my

husband was very astonished that Stalin knew the Oppermanns, his novel. They had different opinions; my husband was not a Communist. Then Stalin asked my husband, he told him, "Would you tell me about your impressions in Russia?" Lion said, "I was very impressed by many things, but one thing I didn't like: that was that everywhere was your picture, very great, enormous pictures of you. How can you stand that, to look always at your own pictures?" Of course, it had to be translated, but then Stalin said, "You know, you have to shout very loudly if you want to be heard in Vladivostok." And my husband found this very clever.

WESCHLER: It is a good line.

FEUCHTWANGER: And then again it was a little more peaceful, and Stalin asked him if he can smoke a pipe. And my husband said, "I would rather you did not because I have just came over a cold." And Stalin put the pipe down. But there again became a heated discussion, and Stalin forgot about that, and he took the pipe and began to smoke wildly. [laughter] And that was the end of it. Nothing else happened. But my husband said it was very interesting. He was mostly impressed about Stalin's small hands, because he always thought Stalin was a kind of sergeant, you know, a military man and so, and yet he had so small writer hands, he said. And he was also a writer; he was a newspaper writer, Stalin. So that was the only impression, and Stalin

showed himself very human.

And then my husband spoke about the trials. There were those trials there during this time, and my husband was at one of the trials because the American ambassador, Mr. [Joseph Edward] Davies, took him there (and Mr. Davies wrote also a book about that, Mission to Moscow). Lion met also another American, a very famous reporter and correspondent; his name was Walter Duranty. And both Davies and Duranty told my husband--my husband couldn't understand anything about the trials--that the trials were made absolutely after the constitution and also after the law, and that those men who were tried had already before made a kind of counterrevolution, or they were partly Trotskyists or so, and had made a movement against the Stalinists. And this was the first time--they were a short time in Siberia, but they had been pardoned by Stalin. And my husband spoke with Stalin about those men and said, "Couldn't you pardon them? They have other opinions but they are still Russian." And then Stalin said, "I would have done that. I did that the first time, but I can't do it a second time. They could make a great turmoil in Russia." But Lion could help one of them--[Karl Bernardovich] Radek was his name--who also would have been condemned to death. But then he got only--Stalin said, "For you I do it only.... I try to help him"--and he got only ten years, Siberia. But you never heard

about him anymore because there was a war then. But this was the only thing my husband could do for those people, that the punishment was lessened. But Davies and Duranty told my husband that in their opinion--and you could also read it in the Mission to Moscow--they were fair trials. But my husband couldn't judge it, because he couldn't understand a word. The only thing what impressed him was that the prosecutor was not sitting up and speaking sternly with the accused. He came down and was sitting on the armrest of the accused and spoke with him like they would have a tea party. They had conversations. Political conversations. But it didn't help. When people are condemned to death, it doesn't help if it is this one way or the other.

WESCHLER: Doesn't matter how polite you are in doing it.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. It's only that.... Also it was that there were two movements, like in the French Revolution. My husband considered that historically, and he knew also in the French Revolution they killed each other. Robespierre and Danton were good friends, but Robespierre killed Danton, and three months later Robespierre himself has been killed.

WESCHLER: Nevertheless, despite any misgivings of this kind, the general mood--I've looked at that book, Moscow 1937, and the general mood of that book is extremely positive in regard to Russia.

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely, ja. And that's why he made himself so many enemies in the Emigration.

WESCHLER: Before we get to that, I'm curious whether his feelings about Stalin in particular ever changed.

FEUCHTWANGER: He considered him a madman. He thought, since he had seen him--of course, everybody can show himself from his best side--but he thought that he had so much suffered during the war, the deprivation and sorrow and sleepless nights, that he became insane. My husband considered him insane later. You know, there is a kind of insanity in how he thought everybody would kill him and so.

WESCHLER: But do you think, as later developments came out, the whole stories of Stalin's camps and so forth, that Lion reevaluated--did he at any point reevaluate the kinds of opinions he had of what was taking place in Russia in 1937?

FEUCHTWANGER: He didn't know [that] anymore. He died too early. What he knew in the fifties was what he thought, that Stalin became insane. There is a kind of insanity which is called a fear of persecution.

WESCHLER: Paranoia.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, paranoia. That's what he thought. He couldn't understand that they could--that if he had enough enemies that it wouldn't make them overturn the government. But they let him stay on there until he died; he was already

a sick man.

WESCHLER: On the whole, however, independent of Stalin, it's clear that Lion very much respected the revolution.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, because we knew the czarist government, we knew what happened before. We knew from Gorky and the Russian literature what happened with the Russian people, that they were serfs, and the starvation, the big starvation, where millions died and nobody helped them. And also, that when something went wrong, they made the pogroms against the Jews; for instance, when they lost the war against the Japanese, they made this big pogrom, which was one of the greatest pogroms, to pacify the people. The Russians said, "The Jews, it's their fault." Like the Nazis did later. So I didn't know a single person who was sorry for the czarists. Not a single person. Even those who were monarchists in Germany were not for the czarism. I was sorry because I thought they didn't know better, when they were shot or so. But everybody was glad of that, because they said that if they would have lived, maybe there would have been a counterrevolution where we would again have the czar. And this--inhuman.

WESCHLER: Did Lion have any meetings with literary figures in Moscow while he was there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes. He met [Isaac] Babel and many others. I don't know the names of all of them.

WESCHLER: Was Gorky dead by this time?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was already dead, but Lion met his wife, and his wife gave him the message of Gorky. Gorky had read Success in Russian, and when he read this book he told his wife, "Now I can die in peace because I know I have a succesor." And this message she brought to my husband. And then he met some movie men, [including] Eisenstein. And Babel was a great writer. And he met Alexander Tolstoy, and the ones who wrote Twelve Chairs, which they made also into a movie, [Ilya] Ilf and [Yevgeny] Petrov, yes, and there was a third brother who wrote a novel that was The Ship on the Black Sea, or so, a very good novel (we read that also). So he met a lot. Babel has been killed also by the Stalinists. Later he was rehabilitated. They killed all those people because they thought they would make a counterrevolution. It wasn't so much Stalin; it was-- what's his name, with a B in the beginning? [Lavrenti Beria] He was the worst one, who has then been killed himself. Khrushchev brought it out. He was the most, the worst you know. They said Stalin was even afraid of him.

WESCHLER: Okay, let's take the writers one at a time, a little bit more slowly. Do you have any--in fact, I know you have one great story about Isaac Babel which eventually leads to the name of your turtle. I've been keeping it in the back of my mind all this time so I can remind you to

tell us.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Babel was a very epic man. He was a very quiet and peaceful man and full of humor. He told my husband that he is expecting his mother who lives far away in Siberia. He said, "You know, today I was at the station and asked the man there how long it would take until my mother would arrive here. So I asked him if the Good Old One takes the train, the Trans-Siberian train, on Monday, when would the Good Old One be here at the station so I can pick her up?" And this impressed my husband, this epic kind of telling a story (or the truth). And then when somebody was always slow, like our turtles, we called them the Good Old One. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Do you have any other memories of things he told you about Babel or about Eisenstein or any of them?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, there was another thing. Some of them visited us here. They came here. For instance, the great actor and stage director--and one was a great poet with the name of [Izak] Feffer. [S.] Michaels was the greatest theater man in this time. And he made a movie out of the Oppermanns. He sent us also--we have the photos here of the whole movie. He came here, had a broken arm, I remember, when he came. We were having tea here, and he came in and had his arm in a cast. He traveled through the whole America. And also he has been killed--and Feffer--all

those people have been killed as counterrevolutionaries.
Afterwards, when Khrushchev came, they all have been
rehabilitated. But that was his paranoia which....

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WESCHLER: We're still in Moscow, and we're talking about some of the other people that Lion met there. Did he have any stories about Eisenstein?

FEUCHTWANGER: Eisenstein visited us before. I don't even know whether he met Eisenstein in Russia. I don't remember, because he could have died before. I only know that we knew him, but I don't know that he met him there. Eisenstein visited us in Berlin when he came from Mexico back. When I was in Russia for the movie Goya, the director of the Eisenstein archives came to my hotel and told me that Eisenstein wanted to make a movie out of my husband's novel, The False Nero, and to prove it, he brought me the sketches, which I have here. They were ink sketches of The False Nero, and we never knew about it. They never wrote us about it.

WESCHLER: That would have been quite a movie.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. For sure, ja.

WESCHLER: Well, I suppose we should leave--the Moscow trip itself is fairly well documented in his book, Moscow 1937, but that book itself, among other things, is what becomes the subject of interest.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. But also it was interesting--you

know he promised Beneš, who was the president of Czechoslovakia, to come to Prague again. They wanted him to make a lecture there, which was always a great sacrifice for my husband, but he did it when they asked for it. So he came back to Prague, but Beneš was not visible anymore; they also told him that this plan of a lecture by my husband has been canceled, because they were afraid of the Germans. They already had in the newspapers in Germany what they would do with those people who make trade with Feuchtwanger or so.

WESCHLER: This is already 1937. So that lecture was canceled.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, it was canceled. And they also wanted-- they offered him the Czechoslovakian citizenship, which Heinrich Mann and his wife had [accepted], because one had to have citizenship to go out of France also. But my husband didn't want it. He also didn't want the French citizenship. It was funny. He thought, "I am a German, and I stay a German, and I don't accept that they take my citizenship away. Nobody can take that away from me."

WESCHLER: Did he feel that way to the end of his life?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. He wanted to become an American, because everybody had to be an American when he lives here, but he said, "It's so ridiculous. I'm not another person. I'm always the same person. When I become an American, I would

never be a good American because I'm not born here and I'm not--I don't know the American way of life or so. I know only about Germany." He wanted to stay not a German, but he wanted to be a citizen of the world, like Einstein also said so. But also Einstein became an American, because it just has to be done. But my husband, even when he wanted later to be an American, they didn't give him the citizenship.

WESCHLER: Partly because of his opinions of Moscow in 1937.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that, and also his friendship with Brecht.

WESCHLER: Well, we'll get to that at a later point. But you were telling us that when you came back to France, he had made himself a lot of enemies.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he wrote this book because--he was very naive. He was not naive in his writing usually, because then he had time to think things over and work them out, but in his life he was so naive. I thought his friends, even if they had another opinion, he could speak with them, he could discuss it in friendship; but that was not possible about Moscow, about Russia. When he wrote this book they were, they made him--even Bruno Frank, who was an old friend, he, very much, he was very intolerant about it. Then another one whom my husband liked very much was

Schwarzschild. The Tagebuch was his magazine and periodical which he published first in Berlin, then in Austria, and then in Paris where it was called Neue Tagebuch (the New Diary). And he was absolutely hysterical about communism. Even his friends who were also anti-Communists couldn't tolerate his way to judge or to write or to speak about. They considered him really insane in his way. And Schwarzschild, when he had this Neue Tagebuch in Paris, he was near, almost broke, and he came to Sanary to ask my husband for money, for a loan. A loan in this way was not a loan usually, because it was never paid back. My husband gave him the money, because he also was a great admirer of his gift, his publishing gift and his writing. Even if he didn't always have been of the same opinion. He told my husband he would pay it back, of course. After a year or so, the secretary thought my husband has to give to so many people--also in Sanary there were other people he had to help--and she said, "Why shouldn't Schwarzschild give it back?" It seems that he was living very well, in good hotels and so; he didn't seem poor." So she wrote him a letter and said she wanted to remind him that he owed some money to Lion. Then he wrote back, "I know I am a swine (Ich bin ein Schwein), but I cannot pay it back. I promised to pay it back, but I cannot." My husband even didn't like this letter--

that the secretary wrote this letter--but it was done so he didn't say anything about it anymore.

But afterwards, when the Nazis came, Schwarzschild denounced my husband. Leopold Schwarzschild was his name. We didn't know about that. Because he thought when he denounces somebody else, he wouldn't be sent into the concentration camp. We heard all that later when we arrived in New York. We didn't know anything about it. And my husband afterwards was interned. We had already a visa, a departing visa--an exit visa. They took it away, his exit visa, after this denouncement. Because he said, "Feuchtwanger...." We know even what he said, and we know it from a very believable source, ja, a reliable source; it was Jules Romain, who was president of the PEN Club then and did everything to help my husband to get him out of the camp. He went to New York; he didn't want to stay there as long as the Nazis were there. He was also a refugee, a French refugee, but he was a very rich man, and he lived in a penthouse in New York and gave a big reception for my husband. And also for [Maurice] Maeterlinck, who arrived at the same time from Holland. And he said to my husband, "What did you do to Leopold Schwarzschild? Do you know him?" Lion said, "Of course, he's a good friend of mine." "But it doesn't seem that he is a friend of yours." And then he told him that Schwarzschild denounced him, that

he said, "When you let Feuchtwanger go out of France, he will only work against France." But later it didn't help Schwarzschild, because he also was interned.

WESCHLER: What happened to him?

FEUCHTWANGER: He went then from--he could flee to Africa, and afterwards he came to New York and continued his enmity against my husband in New York. And then he went back to Germany when he could, after the war. He was very, very sick afterwards, had a terrible skin disease and died with great pains. My husband was sorry for him. He never wanted to speak about it, and he would very much disapprove that I speak now about it, probably.

WESCHLER: What about some of the other people and their response to Moscow 1937?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, Werfel was against him, Bruno Frank was against him. I didn't know that people could be so intolerant. My husband never told them when he was not of their opinion. Of course, he spoke about it, but why should you be so hateful always?

WESCHLER: How about Brecht? Of course, he would have been in favor.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course.

WESCHLER: Any particular story about Brecht's feelings?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not in this connection, no. He never spoke of this. Many things were just taken for granted and

not spoken about. What I was always so astonished was this terrible intolerance. We were all victims of intolerance, and then they were intolerant of each other.

It is not necessary to have the same opinion, but why not let the other think what he wants to think? I think in America, now, they are much more tolerant here.

WESCHLER: How did that intolerance come out, in actual ways? Did people stop talking to each other at Sanary or....

FEUCHTWANGER: No, Schwarzschild didn't live there. He just didn't pay back his debt. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Right. But I'm talking about some of the other people, like Bruno Frank and so forth.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they discussed it with my husband. Frank was very temperamentful, you know, could get very excited, but it was in all friendship. They spoke out what they wanted to say, and then it was over. Nobody could change the other, but they knew about the opinions of the other. Very clearly. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay, as we finish today, I just wanted to talk about a couple of books that were being written by Lion at this time. The first one is The False Nero. Are there any particular stories that you have about that?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. The False Nero was a kind of caricature of Hitler, and Goebbels and Goering. [In the book], they

have been made by a man, a very rich Roman industrialist, a financier, because he needed them for a colony which was in the Balkans, I think. He needed somebody who represented a king or a high personality. Nero has been--no, he wasn't killed--he committed suicide. Nero threw himself onto the sword of his slave. But many, many false Neros came after that and pretended that Nero didn't really die. So that was all historical. My husband took advantage of this legend and made a false Nero who was only the tool of a man who was very ambitious and needed to create, from a very small man, this man whom he used, and also the other two. Finally, this went very badly. Even the rich man had to flee, but he had very good relations with some of the Oriental--not Oriental; here "Oriental" you say only of the Mongols, but in those days "Oriental" in Europe is the Near East. And he went there, not as a priest--how you call it?--like a Buddhist, you know, coming as a beggar. He lived there the life of a Buddhist beggar and felt all of a sudden very relieved. But before that, when the false Nero has been defeated--there were battles, and he finally was taken prisoner, he and the two others, and they were sent through the country in a cart, very poorly and with crowns to make them ridiculous. And so they were brought by one horse in a cart to the ridicule of the population, and they have been thrown with manure and all kinds of things, and

this was the end of it. I read once--and I'm sorry that I didn't keep this--somebody sent me a clipping from Germany [which said] that the servant, the man who took care of Hitler, wrote in his memoirs that Goebbels was afraid that, when it was the end, when he felt that now it's the end, that he would maybe play the same role and also appear ridiculous, and that was the reason why they all committed suicide. That was what his servant wrote.

WESCHLER: So the book was familiar to them.

FEUCHTWANGER: Not only that, once we heard also.... My husband got a radio; it was not very easy to get a radio there where we lived, but somebody, I think a publisher from Holland, sent him a little radio. But we didn't know how to run it very well. I could do many repairs on a car, but I didn't dare touch the radio. And every time we turned it on, we had Germany and the Nazis. Either we became Italy and Mussolini, or the speeches of Goebbels. And we always wanted the concerts of Paris; the Salle Lemonnier, I think, was where the good concerts were always, and the best conductors of the world were conducting there. Even [Wilhelm] Furtwängler came there. We wanted to hear Furtwängler and always became Goebbels. And once we heard, all of a sudden, the name of my husband. Goebbels spoke about Feuchtwanger--that was after The False Nero--and he said, "The German people should finally end

with their opinions that Feuchtwanger is one of the best German writers." And that we heard.

But then we said finally, "Now we have heard enough, and we don't want to hear Goebbels anymore." So we sent the husband of our maid, who worked as the gardener.... He was a carpenter and he had been working with [Louis Jean] Lumière. (Did you ever [hear of] Lumière? He lived not far from Sanary. He was a very old man, retired, and he was one of the inventors of the radio.) So he said, "I'll take your radio to Mr. Lumière, and you can have my radio in the meantime" (which was much better). He brought it there, and Mr. Lumière said, "But you have only to turn this knob here on the rear." [laughter] It was that we had always short waves and we wanted long waves; but we didn't know about short waves and long waves. From then on, we didn't hear Goebbels anymore.

WESCHLER: From then on, it was concerts from Paris.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was concerts from Paris, ja.

WESCHLER: Okay, the other novel I wanted to ask you about, and with this we'll end for the day, is, of course, Exil [Paris Gazette].

FEUCHTWANGER: All those people came. There was this man [Berthold] Jacob--he was a correspondent--and he has been kidnapped by the Germans in Switzerland. My husband was terrible upset about it; he couldn't sleep. It didn't let

him alone, he suffered so much about that. And, because he himself was in concentration camp and knew how this man must feel, he had the same--it had to do with that. Finally the Swiss were very courageous, for once, and insisted that he had to be brought back because it was against the rights of the....

WESCHLER: The treaties. It was against international law.

FEUCHTWANGER: And their own law. The government or whatever, the law of the land, you know. So they really brought him back. Later on, I think he was caught again and probably killed, I don't know exactly. But anyway, Lion wrote about that with another name and also not--he thought nobody would know that he was thinking of him. But his wife [later] attacked my husband in the most vile way, and he never could understand why.

WESCHLER: But this story Exil was based on this.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not on that; that is only one incident. It's based on a man who is a Gentile and went away from Germany; he was a composer. But my husband thought very much, in his way how he behaved, about a German philosopher with the name of Gumbel, Emil Gumbel. He was one of the most famous political economists--statistician, I think it's called. He was also famous here in America and was later at Columbia University, as a statistician. He was a very liberal man and also very courageous already then in Germany.

He made an expression which went around in Germany, "He died on the field of dishonor." He has been beaten for that in Heidelberg, where he taught, and was in great danger also to be killed; he could just in the last moment come out. He was Jewish, but his wife was Gentile. [Later], when I was in Marseilles--I arrived there by walking, you know, when I came from escaping from the concentration camp--I walked behind him, and he had a beard. I said, he couldn't be Gumbel; he didn't have a beard. But then I looked and I recognized it was Gumbel. And I recognized him in his walking.

WESCHLER: And what relation did this have to Exil?

FEUCHTWANGER: That is the man--this, what you call the hero, you know, the main person, is this composer who has very much from the character of Gumbel--which, by the way, Gumbel never knew. Gumbel visited me here, and he never knew about it. I even didn't tell him. But Lion had something which he could have wanted to have a hold on, you know, a man who behaved like this. [Gumbel] was always a great undiplomat; he always spoke out and was very undiplomatic and sometimes even hurt people without knowing or willing to do it. He was a little awkward man, you know, who could be very enthusiastic and sacrifice even his career for things he had to do. He was a composer, but he wanted to right something which he saw was wrong.

There was this German newspaper for which he--he left his composition to help this German newspaper, which would have been lost in financial troubles or so. His wife was against it because she wanted him--and also his wife was so worn out by this whole terrible, living in this little apartment, and always not knowing if they had enough and so--and she committed suicide then in a mood of despair. And this is the part, that is only a part, you know. There is no real hero also in this book. The hero is the Exile. Very often my husband has no hero in a book; there is also one-- I think it was Success--which he called a novel about progress or so. His hero is always an idea and not a person. There are so many people who are in the middle of the thing, but he thinks about the ideas. Also the book about Benjamin Franklin, which is called here Proud Destiny [Waffen für Amerika], was also about progress.

WESCHLER: Was there any historical incident that was the basis for the idea of a newspaper being the focus?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was true. There was a newspaper in France, and there were many intrigues, and people wanted to kill the newspaper, and this is used, is the main plot.

WESCHLER: What was the name of that newspaper? Do you remember?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think Paris Gazette or something.

WESCHLER: That's in the novel that it's called Paris

Gazette; but in the actual world...?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember. But I think it was Pariser Tageblatt, a German journal.

WESCHLER: Okay, well, I think we will stop for today. At the next session, we will begin to head into the exciting part of the story--exciting to talk about, anyway--which is the escape.

AUGUST 13, 1975 [video session]

WESCHLER: Today, for the sake of the video tape, we're going to skip ahead a little bit from the chronology of what we have been talking about, and talk primarily about your escape from occupied France. Before we begin with your chronicle, we might just say that there was originally an internment, a first internment that Lion went through in 1939 when the French officials interned him as an enemy alien. But subsequently he was released, around Christmastime, I believe, in 1939.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja.

WESCHLER: And the set of events we are going to discuss now in fact begin with the second internment of Lion. We might just take it at that point. You could start with what kinds of events first led to your realizing that Lion was going to be returned to the internment camp.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was very simple. There came somebody

from the city hall who said he has to go to Toulon, where they all were assembled, from all of the environment.

I didn't know much more than that, only this news.

WESCHLER: Now, this was originally the French authorities again assembling [the German aliens].

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was because the southern half of France was not invaded by the Nazis; on the contrary, they had an agreement with the Vichy government that this stays free under the Vichy government. But after the armistice, they broke this agreement and took over also the south of France, and so they took also over the concentration camps. So when I was in the camp, I was first only in a general camp, interned by the French, and then I saw the [German] soldiers taking over.

WESCHLER: Why don't we start when Lion was first taken away. Were you allowed to remain at Sanary at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: I was allowed to remain at Sanary, but not to go around, mostly to stay at my house, which was outside of Sanary. But the Werfels, who lived also in the neighborhood of Sanary, when they heard about it--they heard also that our funds were frozen in the banks, and that I was without means--then poor Werfel, who was always very sick with a heart sickness, Mrs. Werfel (she was much older than he was) asked him to go to my house and bring me some money. He had to go up the hill, and I remember how he sweated and was so pale,

and I was frightened of his looks. But he brought me the necessary money. They couldn't get a taxi, because there was no taxi around anymore; it was all in very much disarray, the whole life there. And I still am very grateful for that, for this gesture mostly. But I needed the money because we had some debts to pay for our artisans who made our furnitures and so. They never sent a bill; I always insisted to pay, but they never wanted to send a bill. I don't know, they were so hospitable and we were guests of Sanary and so. And then I sent my maid around to all the people who worked for me and asked how much we owed them. And for that I was very glad to have the money.

WESCHLER: What was the general situation in Sanary at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, the population was very much on our side, but there were not many [of us] left. Many went to Paris already, and others had left for America. For instance, Bruno Frank, Thomas Mann, and Ludwig Marcuse--they all had left already. They were more pessimistic than we were. So we were very alone in those times; only the workers were still there. And in Nice there was Heinrich Mann still with his wife. And some others, I think: Alfred Neumann was there, and Wilhelm Speyer; they were in Nice.

WESCHLER: Had you been trying to get out before this happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes--no--not before. Werfel always said,

"Don't go to America. I don't want to go to America. No, here in Europe we are known, we have our fame. What shall we do in America? Nobody knows each other or knows us." But it was wrong for my husband, who was already very well known in America. He was first of all here on a lecture tour, and his books were always best sellers here, and in the Book of the Month. But Werfel was not so much known. But in a way for him it was lucky that he had to go to America, because when he had to flee France, he made a vow. He was first in Lourdes. (He was very Catholic. His wife was born Catholic and he was Jewish, but by persuasion, or whatever it is, he became a very fervent Catholic, went to confession and the Eucharist and all that.) He went to Lourdes, and there he made the vow that when he comes safely out of France he would write a book like this one he wrote later, The Song of Bernadette, which was inspired in Lourdes. And the very funny thing was that when he had really a great success with his book--it has also been made a movie in America, and they made much money, but it doesn't last all the time, the money--then his wife told him, "You know, you have to write another book. We cannot live forever from your religious booklet."

WESCHLER: Okay, let's return right now to the moment when Lion had been taken away. Had you any idea where he had been taken?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, at first, only to Toulon. And later on I heard from the mayor, that he has been sent to Nîmes. No, first he was sent to Les Milles; that is near Marseilles. It was a factory first for tiles, and it was very unhealthy because it was terrible dusty. The tile was red dust, and with all those many people--always more and more--you can imagine, the air was red from the red dust of the tiles. The lucky thing was that somebody who heard that he was interned there went there--we don't even know who that was--and made a photo of my husband when he was standing behind the barbed wire, without knowing, my husband didn't know about it. And he sent this photo to the publisher Huebsch of the Viking Press, who saw then in what danger my husband was; and he took this picture--it was a very little photo--and brought it to Mrs. [Eleanor] Roosevelt, who was a friend of my husband. She went to Washington, and she showed it to her husband, and from then on she began to save him, his salvage. But in the meantime I have also been sent in the concentration camp.

WESCHLER: How did that happen?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, I just got also the notice of the mayor that I have to go to Hyères; that is also in the south, on the Riviera, where they made perfume. Grasse and Hyères: they have big, giant--what would you say?--plantings of carnations, and they make the famous perfume there. And there,

in the middle of the perfume, we were interned in a garage. It was also not very healthy. Most of all, the mothers had to come with their children and immediately all of them had rougeole ("measles"). All the children had the measles, and it was very dangerous, because there always came in more and more children. They nominated me as the general supervisor-- it's always "general," it has always to do with generals-- so I had to try to separate the healthy children from the others, but it was not very possible. There was only one room. So when they nominated me supervisor-general, [laughter] then they gave me a room upstairs where I could look from a window down to the garage and supervise the people. And then I gave up this room, was again lying on the straw with the others, and I used this room for a sickroom.

WESCHLER: At this time, were the inmates of that camp primarily Jews, or were there other categories of people there?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, there were more Germans than Jews. It was the beginning, where still was the war on.

WESCHLER: I see. This was the French interning.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was the French interning, and there were more Gentile Germans there than Jews. There were not so many Jews there. There was, mostly from Sanary, there was my husband's secretary, but not many Jews. Even those

from Sanary were not Jews. I remember two Dutch ladies who were not Jewish, and one painter whose wife only was Jewish. My husband's secretary was Jewish, and her sister, who was English, had an English passport; she had a Swiss passport because she married a Swiss to get a passport. So those two had been earlier released because their governments asked for it. So finally I was the only one from Sanary. Yes, and then there was a lady there; she was from Argentina, but also from German origin, very rich. And her husband has been interned by the French, and also his son, because he was in the military age. It was still the war with Germany. And then there was a kind of blackmail: they said they would release him if the son would go into the French Army. It was a stepson. So then he had to--because they would have taken him anyway. So he was free then. His wife, too: they were both Gentile and had to go back to Germany later.

WESCHLER: Were you still there when the Nazis took over the camp, or had you been moved to a different camp?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, in Hyères that was only to assemble, from Nice and from everywhere from the south of France. And then we have been sent to Gurs from there. Gurs was an enormous camp. There was also the Spanish camp there, because those who fought for the Loyalists in Spain had to escape from Spain to France and were interned there, had

to do the work in the camps, you know, like repairing the roof and things like that. They were very poor: in the beginning it wasn't so bad, except that many died of malnutrition; but finally that was not only malnutrition, it was really starvation. And then, when I had escaped already, they were sent to Theresienstadt and Auschwitz to be gassed.

But in the chaos of the armistice, some could escape; sometimes even the husbands could escape and pick them up there, could escape even together. But this was only for a very short time, and then the rules [stiffened]. I was waiting there; but I was waiting there because I thought maybe my husband could escape and would also look for me there. I didn't want to miss him. So I stayed there until the Germans took over. And then I thought it's very unhealthy to stay longer. They came all in white uniforms, very elegant. By then I had a long time prepared my escape. I had dug under the barbed wire. I had a duster on, and when the soldiers with their guns looked to the other side, their rifles looked to the other side, I just went through and left my duster hanging in the barbed wire; it probably still hangs there. I crouched on my belly almost the whole day in the high grass so I wouldn't be discovered--fortunately it was after a big rain and the grass was very high--until I reached a highway.

Then I mingled with all the people. It was always full of people there because also the French were escaping from the north to the south. They were afraid of the bombing, of the German bombing. But the Germans also bombed the highway with the Stukas--you remember those, ja. Only the Germans had invented them. They could dive and then bomb and then go up again. And this noise--you wouldn't believe it how the noise is even more terrifying than the bombing. I always took my exercise and jogging and things like that in the morning at six o'clock already, and washing in the cold water; the others didn't do that, but I thought it's more healthy to do all those things. I didn't want to have so many visitors or onlookers, so I did it very early in the morning. And once, when I came back from my jogging, there was a woman with a child, and she stopped me and said she has to speak with somebody. She told me that she was fleeing with her husband and her child--she was also German--down to the south, and then there was this bombing. Everybody had to lie down in a ditch. When she came up, she was unconscious from the noise or from the concussion, and when she was conscious again, her husband wasn't there anymore; she didn't find him anymore. They were lost. It was night when they lost each other. She was crying, and she has to speak with somebody. And then, at that same moment, we heard some hammering on the roof. We looked up, and there

was her husband. He was fixing the roof.

WESCHLER: As the two of you were talking, this happened.

FEUCHTWANGER: It's just unbelievable. You wouldn't believe it when you hear that or read it. And I took that as a good omen, that something happened like that. It gave me also more hope.

WESCHLER: Let's stop there for a second. I had a few questions about the camp. After the armistice, were the non-Jewish Germans released from the camp?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they were released, and this was very dangerous because many were Nazis--we knew that also--and some were even spies. The most important spy was a very beautiful young girl who liked me very much, and I was not afraid that she would denounce me. But my hut was a big hut, maybe fifty for every hut, and the other huts heard about my name, and also who my husband was. One girl was also a German girl whose father was a croupier in Monaco in the casino, in the casino where they gamble. Her mother was German, so she was interned. She was so young, and her mother was French through marriage, and when I was this general supervisor, she asked me to take care of her daughter--she never was away before. So I mothered her a little bit. This girl was also released, of course. But she heard from other German women, whom I didn't know, that they said they know that I am there and they would

denounce me so they would get my husband (probably when I get prisoner of the Nazis, my husband would look for me, or they hoped so). So she went back to the camp, what was a great danger for her, to warn me and tell me that I should try to get out, because they will get me and bring me immediately to Germany. That was the reason why I was preparing to escape; even before I saw the Nazis, I already prepared my escape.

WESCHLER: Can you just describe in a little more detail what the camp was like? How large was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, it was enormous.

WESCHLER: How many people roughly? Do you have any idea?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, but I know that it was two miles long, at least. When I had to go to the commander, which I had to do sometimes to report, then I had always to walk two miles to the house of the commander.

Later on the general commander of the whole was.... When I came to Gurs, I laid down my general supervisor office (it was only when we were in Hyères I had that). I heard that there were already all those supervisors. Also in our hut was a supervisor; she was French but married to a German. And the general supervisor of the whole camp--which was those many people, only girls or women--she was the daughter of a German general, and she was a lesbian, and she fell in love with me. I always had to walk in the

evening with her around, but it was very nourishing because she gave me sometimes a pear or an apple or an egg or something. [laughter] But there was another, also an interned lady, who was also lesbisch, and she was very jealous, and finally she tried to push me out from her sympathy. But I was very glad in a way. And she always walked with her, arm in arm, by me in the evening, triumphantly, that now she is one who gets the apples. [laughter] But it was always comical and tragical at the same time, because we were always starving.

There was also one girl who came--she was Gentile. She had a friend in Nice who was a kind of housekeeper--she was married with a French banker--and this woman said she doesn't let her alone go into the camp. She came with her, just came with her voluntarily. And they brought big baskets with things to eat. She was lying beside me on the straw, and, of course, I could always get a little bit of that, too. So that helped always. But I never accepted without sharing it with others, so it wasn't very much which was left for me. But anyway, everything helped. In the end, her reserves were ending, but then also her stay was ending, because she was released.* But from all those people I was not afraid that I would be denounced. And I was not denounced. It was just the danger. I don't know what happened later.

*For more on this woman, see beginning of Tape XXV, Side II

WESCHLER: Well, let's return to you on the roads there.

Had you heard anything about Lion at that point?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not at all. The only thing I heard, because sometimes the husbands came, and there was what you call a grapevine through the whole camp (you know, like the Indians had with their smoke) and you heard immediately what happened there. So I have heard that somebody is outside, and it's probably my husband. Somebody asked for me, and I thought it's probably my husband. I ran those two miles. But it was only a friend of ours [Hans Arno Joachim] who was in the camp where my husband was, and he had escaped. And he told me, at least, where my husband was. And this man, who was a young scholar, we never heard about him anymore. He went to Africa, and later on, when [Erwin] Rommel went there, he was interned and killed probably. So he warned me, came to see me, and he has been lost then.

WESCHLER: So from him, you had heard that Lion was in Nîmes.

FEUCHTWANGER: And I heard from him that he was in Nîmes.

WESCHLER: So how did you proceed?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but--what was then? No, I didn't even hear that he was in Nîmes. He told me, I think, that he was still in Les Milles. But at least he told me that he was all right.

I heard that he was in Nîmes by my maid, by our maid,

who did everything what she could to find out where we were. Finally she found out where I was. She was a very beautiful girl, very popular in Sanary, and she always went to the mayor and told him, "Do you know anything where those prisoners are?" Finally she heard that my husband was in Nîmes, but it was not in Nîmes itself, it was in a little camp where they were under tents near Nîmes. It was called St. Nicolas. She sent me one telegram after the other, and no telegram reached me. When I was at the commander's, I saw telegrams to the ceiling: nobody got the telegrams. There came many also from Mrs. Roosevelt, and from many rescue organizations. They just didn't give them out. But then when she didn't hear anything, and her money ran out, she wrote an ordinary postcard, and this postcard I got. And that's where she wrote that my husband is in Nîmes. You know, every week she did something. It was her--we owe it to her.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Leontine, but I don't remember her last name, because she was married with an Italian who came from--but he also became a citizen of France. It was very funny. I only know that the priest of the village always said, "It's terrible with those Italians. In Italy, they are very pious, but when they are on the border they immediately leave their Christ there and come here as

heathens." And that was Leontine and her husband.

WESCHLER: Okay, let's turn off the video machine so I can turn over the tape.

TAPE NUMBER: XIX, SIDE TWO

AUGUST 13, 1975 [video session]

WESCHLER: We're on video tape. Okay.

FEUCHTWANGER: There was always a very great danger to get caught. I remember that some--even this beautiful German spy first left and then was caught and brought back by the police and the soldiers. So I had to have at least something which helped me, a paper. You have to have always a paper, you know; without papers, you cannot go through the world. So there was a Jewish woman who took care of the old women who were released because they were too old or sick, and she gave me a paper and confirmed that I was seventy years old. I was only fifty--and didn't look even that--but anyway, it helps always, it helps. So I had a paper that I'm seventy years old, and that gave me more courage, you know, to try things. So when I first saw a station, I just got into the train. (I wanted to tell also the name of this lady, this Jewish lady: Mrs. Sandor was it. I hoped she escaped also. I never heard about her.)

WESCHLER: I think the video tape will confirm that if you had papers today saying you were seventy years old, we still wouldn't believe them.

FEUCHTWANGER: [laughter] And then, with this paper, I

went into the military train. There were no other trains, no private trains. That didn't cost anything; you didn't have to pay: there were no tickets. You just went to the train and tried to get a seat, which was not always possible because they were so full. The soldiers were all drunk, which was very fortunate for me. Sometimes we were sitting on the ground, on the floor of the train, and back to back. We couldn't always sit straight, and I was back to back with a soldier. I never saw his face.

WESCHLER: These were French soldiers?

FEUCHTWANGER: They were French soldiers who were drunk, and also they had got, all the soldiers got, I think, bromine, because the women of the soldiers asked that their husbands, when they go to the war, they must have this chemical or whatever it is, so they wouldn't get un....

WESCHLER: Unchaste, for starters.

FEUCHTWANGER: Unchaste. No, not unchaste--unfaithful.

[laughter]

WESCHLER: And that worked, as far as your experience?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it worked. On the train, they slept all the time. [laughter]

WESCHLER: But what were they going to do with a seventy-year-old woman?

FEUCHTWANGER: [laughter] But then a lieutenant came to me and spoke with me. He must have, maybe he only had

an inclination what I am doing. He didn't ask me. He only said, "How terrible it is that the French have lost the war!" And he said, "You know, we were all sold by the big industrialists who got to terms with the Germans because they didn't want that the industry would be bombed. . All French people have been sold by the Vichy government." He told me that. Just openly. The soldiers didn't hear him because they slept, and he had to tell it to somebody, you know.

WESCHLER: In general, there is a great deal of discussion now concerning the reaction of the French during the occupation, the complicity of the French, particularly in turning in Jews and giving them over to Hitler. In your experience, how would you evaluate the French?

• FEUCHTWANGER: Not in the south. It was more in Paris, in the north, probably. Also I think they did it for money probably. But there was a big movement of the underground, you know, who fought the German, dynamited the trains and things like that.

WESCHLER: And that was already beginning to be active at the time that you were in that area?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I think so. I don't know. You know, there were no newspapers, and what you didn't hear over the grapevine, you didn't know. I only know that the first time when I was in Hyères, there was a woman with ten

children who came. They had an estate there, a farm, and she was expecting an eleventh child. I went to the general who was the commander and told him, "Do you think that this woman with nine children and one expecting would dynamite the trains? Shouldn't you let her free?" And he said, "Yes, you are right." And he let her free. Afterwards all the others were very angry with me because they said they have heard that her husband was a German who spied on the Jews. I didn't know that. And even then I was not sorry to do that, because she didn't spy; it was her husband. And also her husband was in the camp with my husband, with the other internees, and I thought it's better to have them on our side. If I had not done that, maybe this man would have denounced my husband. He was freed, of course, after the armistice. She was so grateful to me, so I'm sure that it was good--but I didn't think before to do it for that. It was good. It was absolutely a blessing that he couldn't denounce my husband because his wife would never have allowed it.

WESCHLER: So, we have you on the train.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, on the train. And I had always to change the trains. I had some luggage and a typewriter which the secretary, who could leave the camp because she was Swiss, had left with me. She took the typewriter [into the camp] with her because she said she has to write

some letters. So I had the typewriter, and I had always three things. And it was very difficult to get from one train to the other. Sometimes underneath, through tunnels you had to go, and how do you do it with three things? Sometimes I found a lady who I asked to watch, but it was always a danger that something could be lost. Finally I arrived without [loss]: I didn't look so rich probably that they would steal something from me.

Finally I came to Marseilles. I went out. I wanted to go to the American consul general. I was behind a man who was a very big and fat man (later on I met him on the ship also; he was from Belgium) and he had not the right papers. They didn't want to let him through the-- how would you call it? From the station to the city, there was a fence there, ja, and they had to show their passport and everything. And this man was so big and broad that I was standing behind him and listening what he's doing, what they are telling to him, so I found out that you had to have a paper, more than only this with the seventy years old, at least a French paper or anything which wouldn't admit that I'm a refugee. So I just turned back, went again into the train, and left the train later on at a very little station which was only to get water for the locomotive. And then I went out there. There was nobody: no police, no soldiers. And I walked back

to Marseilles--that was all.

I walked to Marseilles and went to the American consul general. This was outside of Marseilles, on a very large and long street. For a mile, at least, there were people there who were waiting for exit visas, or immigration visas from America. It was not exit visas; it was for the American entry. They told me, of course, I had to stand back in the rear, and then somebody told me that it's always closed at six o'clock, and it's impossible that even half of those people who are waiting here would be allowed to come inside. There is every day the same: they always have been sent back, three, four times, because there were too many. And I knew that it's very dangerous, that I have to find my husband and....

No. I found him before, before I came to Marseilles. It was very difficult--yes. I came to Nîmes; that was before I was in Marseilles. I came to Nîmes, left the station there, and took a little room in an attic so you hadn't to pay much. I had nothing to eat because everything was on food stamps already, and I was very hungry. I went into a bakery and asked them if I can't have some bread, and they said they don't dare to give anybody bread without stamps. But when I came out--this bakery was a little high and had steps down to the street--when I came down the steps, I must have looked very weak,

because there was an old couple who saw me coming down, and they asked me if I'm hungry and if I had something to eat. I said, "No, I have no stamps." And they give me their stamps. Absolutely strangers. So I could eat again. But those things happened; it was just unimaginable. Always at the right moment came people who took care of me and gave me--old people who had not much money or so and couldn't pay for a black market or something.

Anyway, then I went to the military office, the French military office there. It was still not--the Germans were not there yet. They were in the camp in Gurs but not in Nîmes. I went to the French military office and told them that I heard that my husband is in Nîmes, in the [camp], but I don't know where that is, if they would tell me. And then this man in the office told me that they are not in Nîmes itself, that they are in St. Nicolas, and that you cannot go there without a taxi; there is no other possibility, there is no bus or anything, and the roads are very bad.

WESCHLER: How far outside of Nîmes was St. Nicolas?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember. Several miles. You couldn't walk, and maybe it could have taken a whole day to walk there. So I said, "My husband is there. Could you help me to see him?" And also I told him--I had to write everything down, and of course those people were not for the Nazis yet. They told me to write everything

down, and I wrote down that we were so long in France and we always liked France very much that we wouldn't even want to leave it if it were not for this war, and that my husband is a pacifist--and all those things I wrote down. And he said he would try to get my husband either that he has a leave, or that.... And then he said, "You know, the best would be that your husband would get sick. Yes," he said, "We try to get a doctor to look for him." (I told him that my husband is not in very good health because he had always the stomach ailment.) And then he said, "You know, I have to tell you something: if the Nazis ask us to do something, we would even sell our grandmothers, we are so much afraid of the Nazis. So don't trust too much what we can do for you. But we will try." And then they told me to come the next day.

The next day he said I can go to the camp if I want and try, but he is not sure if I can go in or so; they have nothing to do [with that] because the Germans have already taken over the camps. There were no Germans there, as in Gurs; they didn't come yet. He told me also that there's a place where you can get a taxi. So I went to this place, and I asked the taxi how much it costs. Then he said, "You would never--you couldn't pay that. It's too far away." I didn't look as if I could pay probably; I was very run-down. And then he said,

"But you know, you wait with me and later on come black marketeers who all go to the camp because there are the Foreign Legion, the French Foreign Legion there. Many were German, and they are still in the camp. They have money, because they get their military money, and they buy always from the black market. I take them every day there. You wait and I take you. You will come with me even if you have to sit on the lap of a black marketeer," he said, "but you come with me." And then that's what we did. I had only to pay ten francs. That was almost nothing.

WESCHLER: Did you have to sit on the lap of a black marketeer?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, but it was very narrow. [laughter] When I came there, nobody let me through, of course. I saw that the soldiers were there, so I went around the camp. The camp had no enclosure. It smelled terribly because they had no facilities there; everybody went out at night where you could find a place and relieve himself.

WESCHLER: What was this camp like? How large was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very large. But I don't know how large. It was very large, because I didn't go around, but lots of people were there. Then I went in from the side and met some people. I asked them if they know Lion Feuchtwanger, and immediately the whole camp knew about me,

that I'm there. And there came Ernst, the famous painter. (He lived here even; he is a famous abstract expressionistic painter. I think his name was Ernst, but I don't know his first name.)

GARDNER: Max.

FEUCHTWANGER: Max Ernst, ja, the famous painter. He was there. He looked like a skeleton, you know, so worn out. He told me that he knows that Lion is there, but not everybody has seen him--so it must have been very big. But he knew about him.

WESCHLER: Had you known Max Ernst before?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I had never seen him before. But when he heard the name, he came to greet me and told me that he knows that Lion is there but he hasn't met him. But maybe he wasn't long there. Then finally--I asked my way around--and finally Lion came--just to, came, we met each other, you know--we saw each other. He looked very, very sick, and he had dysentery. His colleagues, the other men in his tents, they waited on him day and night and saved him. There were young Austrian doctors, but no medicine or so. The doctors told him what he needs now that he's over the fever; he was very weak and also couldn't keep much he ate. So they said he needs very bitter chocolate and unripe apples. (In the war in the Balkans, they found out that green apples is the best against dysentery. The

soldiers, who were also very hungry during this Balkan War, they just ate the apples which have fallen down from the trees, and they were all saved while the others died[^] with all the medicine.) So they told me those two things he needs. In my backpack, I had very bitter chocolate, because I knew my husband likes it. I took it with me into the camp and kept it only for him; in case I find him, I have this bit of chocolate. It came always from Paris. So I just put my backpack down and gave him the bitter chocolate. I said that about the apples, I have to find out; it was not the season yet of the apple (you couldn't the whole year get apples). I went to the taxi man and told him that I need apples, if he could find some in the countryside, and he took a bag out from beneath his seat and said, "Here, take my apples. I just got them." And they were really green still. He said he wanted to use them for compote or so.

WESCHLER: Can I ask a question about the camp? What did the people who were in the camp think the future held for them? I mean, at this time, were the death camps generally known? Did people know about Auschwitz and so forth at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, no, that wasn't. They didn't exist yet.

WESCHLER: So did they think they were going to be sent to labor camps, or what did they think would happen?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they thought mostly that they would be tortured and killed. They wouldn't even think that they would go to the camps. Because most of those were writers and known as anti-Nazi, of course, because, first of all, they were Jews, and those who were there were socialists or so, and all were in danger to be killed. That's why [Walter] Hasenclever also committed suicide, you know. That was about this, what my husband wrote in his book [The Devil in France] about this tunnel. Maybe I should tell you about that.

WESCHLER: Let me ask you one more question first. The staff of the camp, was it entirely German at this point, or were there French guards?

FEUCHTWANGER: Only French. No German. That was good, because [German veterans of the] Foreign Legion were very great enemies of the emigrants. They were originally German, and they went to the Foreign Legion because they committed a crime or so. The French, in the Foreign Legion, they didn't ask from where they came or what they did, they took everybody; it was a very hard service in Africa. But they didn't trust the Germans, so they interned them. But they were very much--all were Nazis, and they were in the same camp. So it was good that the French soldiers were there, because there would have been a fight probably, or they would have killed many of the Jews who

were there.

WESCHLER: Did the French soldiers help some escape?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they didn't help, but they were--how shall I say?--uninterested. They were not against, but they wouldn't help, because they were afraid something could happen to them. They were correct, in a way. They were not cruel or so, but they were uninterested.

WESCHLER: Well, you might continue the story of the suicide of Hasenclever.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, before my husband came to this camp of St. Nicolas, they were in Les Milles. From there they had to be sent somewhere else, because the Germans were already on their way to the south. The French commander wanted to save the people, but they never did something. It was always from one day to the other that it was postponed, and everybody was already desperate that the Nazis would come and they would still be there, like in a trap, just waiting for the Germans. And then finally, just when it was the most dangerous, finally the train came. It should have brought them to the border of Spain, to the North Sea, you know--not the Mediterranean but to the other side. Bordeaux was still in the hands of the Vichy government, and they thought there is a little more possibility that they would be saved when they come to the Vichy government. It was more an illusion, but still they

believed in that. And when finally they got to the train--no, before they entered the train--Lion was lying beside the poet Hasenclever (who was a writer, a very known writer, and also a playwright), and before they were going to sleep, Hasenclever asked my husband, "What do you think?" And my husband always, because they looked at him a little like their guide, and because he was a well-known writer, and writers are always a little bit like pater confessor, and they wanted always to--they thought he knows more than they know, so they always were assembling around him, and he always gave them hope, even if he had not much hope himself. But he was tired on this evening, didn't feel well, and Hasenclever asked him, "I want to speak with you a moment." Just at this moment there was a young workman, a young German workman, who wanted--who already spoke with him, and Lion said, "Just a moment, I just want to finish my conversation with this young man." And then he was looking for Hasenclever, and he wasn't there anymore. He couldn't find him anymore in the dark. And the next morning he was dead. He took some sleeping pills. He wanted to speak first with my husband. My husband told him before, when they spoke, that there is only a fifty-fifty chance to escape, and this was, of course--because he usually was more optimistic, or he showed more optimism, but he was tired and he just....

And he always had the feeling, "Maybe if I had spoken with him, or told him, or gave him more hope, he wouldn't have taken the sleeping pills."

WESCHLER: Well, let's return to you and Lion and Nîmes, or in St. Nicolas. What happened then?

FEUCHTWANGER: So Lion had enough to eat. That was--people with this black market, something always came to them. They all liked to make money in France. He wasn't starving, but he was always in danger, of course. And the best thing was that also he gave me to eat, because I was so hungry. He couldn't eat much on account of his dysentery, so I could eat what he had, his rations. For once, I was again satisfied, I was not hungry all the time. Then he told me that I should try to send a telegram to Mrs. Roosevelt. I did that already in Gurs. I wanted to pay for it, but there was a lady from the Red Cross, from the French Red Cross, and she didn't accept any money (I didn't have much money, but still whatever I could do). She sent the telegram, but it never has been sent over, you know; she tried to telegraph for me. And then I tried it myself again in Nîmes, and when I came to the post office, they told me you have to have a paper when you send a telegram out of the country. I didn't want to show them my paper, because it would be too obvious that I was.... From all that hunger and from the excitement and so, I had fever,

and I looked very...my eyes or so looked...I told him, and he said, "What are you doing here?" I said, "I was released from the camp." Then he said, "You go and go home. You have to go home. You look sick. You have fever. You better go home. And if you don't, we have to send you back to the camp." So that was all what I could do with my telegram. It was not much.

But finally my husband told me also that there was in Nîmes a lady--there was a doctor who was prisoner with him (he was very sick; he had a very bad stomach ailment). Lion told me that I should look for his wife, that she had helped many of the refugees, because before the war and also during the war, she took care of the poor and of the soldiers, of the wives of the soldiers. She was like "the Angel of Nîmes," she was always called. So she could do what she wanted, and I came to her and....

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Madame Lekisch. And on the stairs and the floor, everywhere people were sleeping. She was very much willing to do what she could. There was right away a sympathy because she was also a champion gymnast in her youth; so we were a kind of confederates. Anyway, she tried to do anything, and she told me then that the best thing would be to go to this general, to the commander in Nîmes, and they to help me.

It's a little difficult to do this. When they promised me that I could maybe see my husband, or that he could have a leave, they told that my husband was sick and sent a doctor there. My husband was told at the camp, before I was there, "You have to come to the office." So my husband and everybody thought that the Nazis had found out where he is, and it was a big shock. But when he came there, there was a doctor who said, "I wanted to know how you feel now." And Lion said, "Oh, I feel fine." He always said so. So he ruined the whole thing, the whole plot which I made in the military academy, or whatever that was, what we had found out, that he should say he's sick and that he would be sent to the hospital. Anyway, the doctor came back and said, "What do you want? He is all right." And that he told me. So it was even worse what I did than good, because attention was not good anyway, you know. Later I went to my house [in Sanary] to take care of everything, and they came, what is here the FBI or the CIA, and asked me where my husband is. (They were from the Vichy government.) I told them, and I told everybody who asked at the city hall, that my husband is in Switzerland and I am following him. I didn't tell them that he is still in France or in the concentration camp. So what did they say? "Yes, we heard that at the city hall already." [laughter] And also my maid, Leontine--she told everybody, "Oh, we are

not worried about Mr. Feuchtwanger. He is in Switzerland." So they wouldn't look anymore for him.

WESCHLER: How is it that they didn't have lists?

FEUCHTWANGER: The commander had destroyed the lists.

WESCHLER: I don't think you told that on the tape yet.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, already in Nîmes, when they asked for a train to go away from Nîmes--they asked always--then he said, "You don't have to worry. I destroyed the lists." And also in Gurs the lists were destroyed.

WESCHLER: So the French commanders knew what was up and had already destroyed the lists.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. But they only were very much afraid for their position and so. Even if they wouldn't have been killed by the Nazis, they would know that they would lose their office; and that is also not very easy, to sit on the street in those times. So I could understand their cautiousness.

WESCHLER: But, nevertheless, it is a considerable deed that they did destroy the lists.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they were all very humane. You cannot tell otherwise.

WESCHLER: Well, let's return now. I think we're ready to go on to your going from Nîmes to Marseilles.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Then I left my husband--I knew the surroundings and all that, and the possibilities with

Mrs. Lekisch and so--and then from there I went then to Marseilles, again with military trains. And that was when I told you that I couldn't go into the city because there was already the guarding; the station was guarded, and I went to the next station. And then I was at the [American] consulate general with those many people. And when I saw those, I knew that I couldn't wait two or three days, that that would be too late to help my husband; it was necessary, every hour was to count. So I just passed those people and went to the consulate. And until this day I cannot forgive myself that I saw all those people in this terrible heat--many fainted, old people--and I just went by instead of standing behind where I belonged. But I had to do it. The people just looked at me; they thought maybe I am somebody of the consulate, that I dared to, instead of standing in line, just went by. And when I came to the door, I just put my name on a little piece of paper, the doorman took it in, and immediately the door opened and I could go in, because they knew the name of my husband.

WESCHLER: Had you already been friends with the American consul?

FEUCHTWANGER: One of the younger consuls we met once. He came to our house in Sanary, one of them. But I didn't know if he was there, because they were different. (Always this one consul general, and a certain number of younger

consuls. They had a lot of them because they had to give all those visas.)

WESCHLER: Is it possible that at that time they were already reacting to Roosevelt's order to save Feuchtwanger, when they saw your name?

FEUCHTWANGER: I have to think it over. Yes, I think there was already the order, but they didn't tell me. They didn't tell me. They let me in. This man who was once at our house was also there--his name was Myles Standish (it's a very famous name)--but he didn't recognize me because I looked so changed from the camp, you know, so emaciated, also dirty and neglected and everything. I hadn't seen a bath in I don't know how long. So he really didn't recognize me. Then when I told him my name, he said, "Sit down," and I began to cry. The first time during the whole time that I had a breakdown. And the Americans cannot see a woman cry; so they said, "We have to do something."

[laughter]

WESCHLER: A convenient breakdown.

FEUCHTWANGER: But the funny thing was because--no, you know, I felt secure for the first time, because this was American ground where I was, and I think then my nerves left me. Then they said, "We have to find out what to do." One consul said I could stay in his house, because his family left already for America. (America already said they

cannot have their families there anymore.) And the other, Myles Standish, was a very adventurous young man; he said, "Oh, I think we have to try--we cannot do it with the Vichy government; they wouldn't do anything. And we cannot ask the help of the consul general"--the American consul general--"because he's on very good terms with the Vichy government."

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember. Even if I would, I wouldn't say it. [laughter] [John Hurley] And he said, "Those emigrants just are disturbing us and interfering with our good terms with the Vichy government." So he even didn't want, didn't help--couldn't know--or I wasn't allowed to tell him, or to speak with him. The young consuls hid me in the house of one of them [whose] name was Hiram Bingham. He was the son of the Senator [Hiram] Bingham who discovered the Mayan art in South America. He took me in his house.

And Myles Standish, the other one, tried with the underground, with the Mafia. He said, "That's the only people who would dare to do something, fight maybe, and get Feuchtwanger out of the camp." He went to the Mafia, but they said, "We do everything you want--we commit murder, whatever you say; for money, we do everything--but we wouldn't go into the Nazi camp. We don't want to have to do anything with those Nazis." Not out of morals, but out of fear.

So [Standish] said, "When the Mafia doesn't do it, so I have to do it." He was the only one--the consulate was the only one who had gasoline, and he took his car and went to Nîmes. I gave him a little piece of paper, and I wrote on that--in German it's very short, but I had to write it in French, or in English--I said only, "Frag nichts, sag nichts, geh mit." That means, "Don't ask any questions, don't say anything to anybody, go with him." I didn't write my name because I was sure my husband would recognize my handwriting. Then I told this young Mr. Standish that I saw that the prisoners went always in the afternoon about five o'clock to the river to wash themselves, and that there they were not guarded so much, because they had no clothes on. So there were very few guards. I told him to go there at five o'clock and try to find him, to recognize him (it was a long time since he hadn't seen him anymore), and give him this little paper. And that's what he did. He took his wife with him, to be sure, so it would look like a private excursion. He had to have also permission to go anywhere, but as a consul from America it was not so difficult for him. And when he came there, he saw my husband really there, washing himself, and he gave him this little paper. My husband had only pants on, nothing else, but immediately he went with him. He had hidden his car behind some bushes.

Went with him in the car. He gave him a coat and a shawl, wrapping it around his head. And then he left the camp with his wife and my husband in the rear. They were stopped almost in every village--it is a long way from Nîmes to Marseilles--and then his papers were, of course, diplomatic papers. The soldiers asked who is in the rear, and he said, "That's my mother-in-law." So finally he came to Marseilles.

We lived then together in the house of Hiram Bingham, very high up in the attic, and my husband finished his third volume of Josephus there. It was a great benefit that he could do that, because it helped him over the anxiousness. We were--we knew that it was very difficult and dangerous.

WESCHLER: How did he have the manuscript? Had you saved it?

FEUCHTWANGER: The secretary had it still in Sanary where we were. She was in Sanary still. She came and brought him the manuscript.

WESCHLER: And that's where he finished it.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: He finished it before he left Europe?

FEUCHTWANGER: He almost finished it. He had to write--he had to correct, to edit it then in America.

WESCHLER: Now, what month are we talking about right now?

Is this the fall already?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think it was October.

WESCHLER: And how long did you stay at Hiram Bingham's?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember anymore, but I think it was about a month that we were there. They tried everything to get us out, and it was very--everything didn't work out. First of all, there came the socialists from the labor party here, I think a Dr. Green or so. When he came to Mr. Bingham, sent by the consul, he told my husband, "I get you out, whatever--it's absolutely sure I get you out, whatever it costs and whatever it means." And there he bought a ship, or hired a ship, in the port of Marseilles. In the meantime, my husband told Mr. Bingham that there is still Heinrich Mann and Golo Mann, the son of Thomas Mann.

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AUGUST 13, 1975

WESCHLER: When we left off a second ago, we were at the point where the man from the American labor unions, who would be variously described as Mr. Green and Mr. Bohn....

FEUCHTWANGER: I remember that it was one syllable but I think [Frank] Bohn is a better guess probably. [He was from the American Federation of Labor]. And he said he would bring us--with every means, he would bring us over; and we can rely on him. So he chartered a ship--it was loaded with food and all that--and the next day we should have gone. I remember Heinrich Mann, who was already seventy years old and not very strong, he said, "I leave it up to you." He said to my husband, "If you say we go by ship, I go by ship." We had to go about thirty miles, walk on foot until we found this ship, but he said, "I will also go those thirty miles if you say so." He was very touching--and a great friend. So we were ready to go the next day, and then came the news that the ship has been confiscated by the Italians. Somebody saw the commotions there, that they loaded food there, and the Italians who also were already in Marseilles, as allies of the Germans, they confiscated it.

Maybe I didn't tell you that we were bombed by the

Italians.

WESCHLER: No, you haven't told that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was the Italians. When we were first in Hyères concentration camp, in a garage, one night we have been bombed. We were always closed in, you know, by key: nobody could come out. We should have gone out. The soldiers who watched us were in trenches. But we couldn't come out because they didn't let us out. We tried with our fists, beat the doors; nobody helped us. This white stuff came down, you know, like a rain from the walls and--oh, it was terrible. And then the facilities broke; it was only a hole in the ground with a pipe, and this broke by the commotion, and everything came out on all those people. It was just....

WESCHLER: Was anybody hurt?

FEUCHTWANGER: Nobody was hurt, but imagine how unhealthy that was, when all the sewer pipes broke. Everything came into where we slept. And also then most of the women became hysteric and had all kinds of cramps and diarrhea. And it was so--the pipe broke, and you can't imagine what a terrible thing it was. I had a medicine with me which was made from ether; I always had that with me when I was traveling. A French doctor gave it to me. I had one bottle, and I went around between the straw where

they slept and gave everybody a little bit of this; and this helped enormously. Also, I think only the feeling, psychologically. All those people who got my medicine were--and I, only for me there was nothing left anymore afterward. But I didn't need it, I didn't eat so much, so I was not sick.

WESCHLER: Well, let's return. You just lost a ship. How are you going to get out of Marseilles?

FEUCHTWANGER: Then we lost the ship, and that was over then. Mr. Bohn was followed by Mr. [Varian] Fry. He was a professor of Columbia University.

WESCHLER: He was the Quaker?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a Quaker. He was working with the Red Cross. He took over, and he was most efficient and had also the best--he had money which the people in America collected for the refugees. Mostly the film industry here gave very much money, also the big stars and so. Nobody recognizes what the film industry did for the refugees. They always try to malign the people here, but they really did a great job.

WESCHLER: Are there any people in particular who should be mentioned among them?

FEUCHTWANGER: Mostly Dieterle, Wilhelm Dieterle, who was a director then, a very famous director of biographical movies, but also all the great actors, and [Charles]

Chaplin and all, everybody, [Edward G.] Robinson, all of them helped. They helped in a way that nobody knew. It was Dieterle and his wife and the wife of Bruno Frank who founded something which was called the European Film Fund. They had to prepare jobs for the people. Everybody who had a job could come over, and also had for a year a job at the movies, were taken care of at least a year. And it was--really they did a great job. But this was later when we were already here.

WESCHLER: Okay, let me ask about when Dr. Varian Fry approached you. I gather we're talking now about you, and Heinrich Mann is also involved, and Franz Werfel....

FEUCHTWANGER: And Franz Werfel and his wife and Golo Mann, the second son of Thomas Mann.

WESCHLER: And you are in hiding, I would gather, at this point?

FEUCHTWANGER: We were in hiding in the attic at Bingham's house. And then, when my husband had them coming.... They didn't even know what happened in Nice, you know, that it was a possibility maybe to go away, and they didn't also know in what danger they were. And then Bingham sent a telegram and they came. Heinrich Mann and his wife lived in a hotel, and Golo Mann stayed also in the house of Hiram Bingham. And then, when Varian Fry took over, we had the possibility to go over the mountains by guiding.

Somebody would guide the people and would also have the possibility to bribe the guards or something like that.

WESCHLER: Now we're talking about over the Pyrenees into Spain.

FEUCHTWANGER: Over the Pyrenees into Spain. He had all the funds for that, and he also told my husband that he will take care of us both. But then, all of a sudden, he came and said everything is much more difficult, the borders are much more guarded, and he cannot take my husband (who has been condemned to death by Hitler) with the others, who have no bad renom, except that they were refugees. Because Mrs. Werfel was Gentile and Heinrich Mann was Gentile and his wife was Gentile, so they were not in so much danger. But if we would come, my husband, who had written the book Success, where he ridiculed Hitler when he did his first Hitler putsch.... Lion was too much known everywhere; his picture was in the post office, like a criminal, also in Spain, we heard. So Fry said he cannot take us. He writes in his book about this, what is called Surrender on Demand or something. He writes about my husband, that he took it so calmly when he said, "I cannot take you over the mountains because you would endanger the others. You have to wait until we find another occasion." And he was really amazed at my husband; he doesn't know, maybe, what happened in my husband's mind, but at least he

looked so calm, he said.

WESCHLER: So you saw the others leave.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, the others leave. I even woke up Golo, who was sleeping. It was in the middle of the night when they had to leave. And they were brought to the border, to Cerbère, and from there somebody brought them-- an American; I think his name was Mr. [Richard] Ball, also a one-syllable name--he brought them up to the [place] where the custom house was. Afterwards he told me that he had almost carried Mrs. Werfel, who was very heavy, and Golo Mann took care of Heinrich Mann and helped him, because they had to go partly over a very bad path. But as a whole they could go over the street, the highway. But when Mr. Ball left them, they went in the wrong direction, and all of a sudden they were back in France again, the old people. But they were looking old and weak and not very dangerous. So the soldiers said, "You go the wrong way. Go the other way!" But Ball could not guide us. Also Mr. Fry said we have to find our way alone, because we could endanger the whole rescue.

WESCHLER: And this led to Reverend Sharp?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, that was later. That was, oh, yes, Sharp--but he didn't come with us. But then when Fry said he could not help us--he said he has to go back to America to get new funds; he ran out of money; he could take care of

those two couples and Golo but then he has to find out another way for us--he sent Mr. [Hastings Waitstill] Sharp. He was a Unitarian reverend from Boston. He came and he was a very efficient man, but very different from Mr. Bingham, who was rather aristocratic and traditioned, reserved. Bingham took it very heavily, you know; he was always very depressed because he had to refuse so many people their passport, their emigration visa. He came always home very depressed. But Mr. Sharp was just the contrary; he was a rather robust man, very energetic, and he said, "I take you. I bring you over." So we went together to Cerbère also. We had to stay overnight there. And when we came to the border....

WESCHLER: How did you get out of Marseilles?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, I forgot that. Mrs. Sharp came also with him. She was most efficient. She had rescued hundreds of Jewish children in Czechoslovakia. How she did that, nobody knows, but she succeeded. She came also to Marseilles, and she took a room in a hotel which was directly beside the station. From this hotel she found out there was a little tunnel to the ramp where the trains were, so we didn't have to go through the station, which was guarded. Then she found out that the luggage of the people who lived in the hotel always has to go through the tunnel directly to the ramp. So we had to go through

this tunnel, which was very low, and really came to the ramp; we had not to go past the soldiers, which was impossible to succeed there. So at least we were on the train without any difficulties. And that's what she found out. She was clad like a fisherwoman; she was absolutely--you wouldn't think that she was a lady. But she did that to find out things. Later on, when she visited us here--she was running for senator, I think--she was a very elegant lady. I wouldn't have recognized her if she hadn't told us her name. But she disguised herself to find out which people were very anti-Nazi in Marseilles. They were rather communistic; the whole south of France was communistic. They didn't know much about communism, but they were against the government, principally against the government, and so there was only one thing to vote: communistic. But Marseilles was really communistic and they, of course, tried their best to help all the emigrants.

WESCHLER: Did Lion have any papers?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had a visa--an emergency visa, it was called. He could get that only on account of the order of the Roosevelts. Usually it has to go first to Washington to be approved by the government. But there was no time anymore, so Mr. Bingham said, "Because I have the order of the Roosevelts to do everything what I can, I try to

do it what is out of my reach. I give you a visa, if you have a pen name." So my husband remembered that once in Berlin, long, long ago--it seemed so long--that he wrote those ballads, satirical ballads about America, under the translation of his name, which was Wetcheck. So he told him the story, told Mr. Bingham the story, and he gave him a visa with the name Wetcheck. But I had no--I was not Mrs. Wetcheck. I had my still my carte d'identité, the identification of the French--we had to give up our German passport--and this was, of course, with my name. So I couldn't go with my husband together over the border. And it also would have been very dangerous to have a map: only smugglers or spies could have a map. So I had been shown the map by Mr. Ball. He showed me the map on the border of France and Spain, on the French side of the Pyrenees; and since I am an old skier and an old mountaineer, it was not difficult for me to find the direction. Also it was good weather: I could orient myself after the sun, where the sun was standing. I had to go to the west, and so I knew I had to go where the sun goes down--things like that.

WESCHLER: So you had taken a train to get to that point.

FEUCHTWANGER: We had to take a train to Cerbère, from Marseilles to Cerbère, and there we stayed overnight. Then Mr. Sharp went to the border guards and bribed them--that

was the use, to do that--but he came back rather desperate and said, "You know, I gave the soldiers money, and many were also very much on the side of the Emigration and promised me to do everything. But the guards change all the time, and we don't know what guard would be there when you go up." So he said, "It's too dangerous. We cannot risk that. You have to go on your own."

That's why Mr. Ball showed us this map. We had to go first through the village and afterwards through vineyards. From the vineyards it went into the real mountains, where only was rubble and rocks and so. We had to climb up, and it was very hot; but we both were used to mountain climbing, and it was no difficulty. The only thing which was absolutely necessary was to find the custom house. If you didn't find the custom house and one of the border guards would have seen us, he would have immediately shot us without asking, because there were mostly smugglers there. (Those were the smuggler paths which we used.) But when we came up to the high of this pass, I heard voices, just below, maybe fifty yards below, and this was the custom house. But I couldn't come with my husband, so I said, "You go first and try with your visa, and I go afterwards when I see you going down the other side." I waited up there until I saw my husband going with a good pace, going down the mountain. Then I went to the custom

house and--I didn't tell you the good idea which Mr. Bingham had. He gave me a lot of Camel cigarettes. I had a costume with pockets, and all the pockets were full, and my backpack was full of Camels. I came into the custom house and said, "I wanted to take that with me to America, but I heard the customs are so high it's not worthwhile. So I rather leave them here rather than to pay such high customs." I threw all those packages on the table, and they jumped on the cigarettes and didn't even look at me, just gave me a stamp on my paper (which said "Feuchtwanger"), and just let me go out. They didn't even have time to open the door: I opened it myself.

WESCHLER: Between the name Camel and the name Feuchtwanger, the name Camel was better known.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. [laughter] And I run down. You know, I never ran down a mountain so fast. [laughter] And then I was in Spain. But it was not so very easy also in Spain, because my husband was also looked for in Spain. All the others--the Manns and the Werfels--they could go by plane from Barcelona to Lisbon to go to the ship. But we couldn't use the plane because it was the Lufthansa, the German plane. So this was complicated.

WESCHLER: How did you meet Lion?

FEUCHTWANGER: I met Lion, of course, in a restaurant. [laughter] We had to eat. So my husband always liked

to eat very well and he--also in France, Bingham had always things then from America, but there wasn't much to eat in France. So I told my husband--it was very small (Port-Bou was [the name of] the little place) so there were not so many restaurants--I just said we met in the restaurant. But on the other hand, Mr. Sharp could go through the tunnel from France under the Pyrenees. (There was a train through the tunnel.) He took also a little bit of our luggage. He complained terribly that he did the same for the Werfels, and she had, I think, twelve pieces of luggage. But she was right; she had a lot of first editions of Gustav Mahler, you know, so that was very good that she took all that. But in those days people didn't think about those things.

WESCHLER: So this is how some of the first editions of Mahler were saved: under the Pyrenees.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. And he also went with us. He told us to meet each other at Cook--that is a travel agency. And my husband absolutely forgot about that. I went to Cook and he wasn't there.

WESCHLER: This was in Barcelona now?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, that was still in Port-Bou, this little place on the other side of the Pyrenees. Very small. And it was very much destroyed from the war, the civil war which was shortly before, in '37, I think, when Franco

invaded Spain. So it was like that. When I didn't see my husband, I looked in the restaurants, and there I found him in the best restaurant, enjoying a good meal.

[laughter]

WESCHLER: So, what happened once you'd gotten him off of dinner and into the Cook travel agency?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. "Sit down and eat," he told me. What I did. And Mr. Sharp also.

Then we went by train to Barcelona, and it was a Sunday. We had to have the help of the American consul there, and it was closed, everything; without him you couldn't go to the train, and we needed money. We didn't have the money to buy the tickets. But Sharp found out--he was very efficient--the private house of the consul general, and he got the money there, at least to buy the tickets. Also he said my husband cannot go with an ordinary train--he had to have a sleeping berth in first class--because the Spanish were looking for many to be delivered to the Nazis again. They took many of the emigrants and sent them back to Germany. Also in Lisbon they did that.

WESCHLER: Were the Spanish police very thorough in looking for you, or were they lackadaisical?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they were very thorough. We heard that many have been sent back who were suspected as intellectual or anti-Hitler or so. Or were known with no name. And Mr.

Sharp said we cannot risk that. So the best, he said, was to have a berth in first class; there the soldiers are usually much more polite and also don't search so much.

But we had not enough money for me, for first; so I had to go third class, not even sitting, because it was so full that I had to stand. And I was still very weak from the concentration camp, not very well fed, and my feet were swelling always when I was standing, from the camp, from the undernourishment. So I was standing there, and looking rather dejected, it seems, because a man came and said, "Young woman, you have to sit down." I said, "But where?" He said--it was all in French, we spoke French--"Oh, I find a place for you." He was an older man. I was not very happy because I did not want to do anything what would make attention, and I had to follow him. He was so loud and so energetic, so I had to follow him. He finally found a compartment which was absolutely empty. He said, "You see, young woman, we have found that there is room here." So we went in, and I felt very uncomfortable. I would have preferred to stay with the others. And then really came the police and said, "This is our compartment. We are the police, and you have to go out." I was glad that they only throw us out without asking the papers or so, but this man began to shout in German (because he was a Swiss; he could speak German and

French). And the soldiers, the police, were so afraid of the German sounds, because they knew the German bel-
lowing--and he did absolutely like Hitler when he shouted in German--that they ran away and let us alone. Because the Germans were very popular and also very feared. So be-
cause he was a German Swiss, it helped a lot, and so I could at least sit down and rest a little bit.

WESCHLER: You said the train was very full. Was it mainly full of refugees or was it just Spaniards?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was full anyway.

WESCHLER: And meanwhile, up in first class is Lion.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, in first class was Lion. Mr. Sharp, who was really very efficient, told him, "I give you my briefcase." There was a big red cross on it, because he was a member of the Red Cross. He said, "You never leave this. You go nowhere without this briefcase with the red cross. So people would think you are from the Red Cross." They were in their compartment. There was a bathroom between two sleeping compartments, and my husband went into the bathroom, and from the other side, somebody opened the door and came into the bathroom, and this was a German official. Who, you know, reigned already in Spain. He said to my husband, in English, "Ah, you are from the Red Cross." He spoke very Prussian, a Prussian accent. And my husband, in his Bavarian English, said, "Yes, I'm

from the Red Cross." So they exchanged some polite words, then they did what they wanted to do in this compartment, and then they left. It was always dangerous and comical in the same time.

And then we came to the border of Portugal. We had all to leave the train, to take another train. And all our papers had been taken away--not only ours, but from everybody (but everybody had better papers than we had). Anyway, we couldn't sit together, so I also went on the ramp. I was just opposite where my husband was with Mr. Sharp, and I was standing there and waiting, fatalistically--we learned that--when a lady came to me and said, in a very loud voice, "Is it true that Lion Feuchtwanger is on this train?" I said, "Who is that?" She said, "Oh, how can you be so uncultured and not know who Lion Feuchtwanger is?" I said, "I'm sorry." And then Mr. Sharp already saw that I was speaking with someone, and he came nearer and heard her shouting those things. He came up and said, "What do you want from her?" Then she said, "I am from the newspaper and I want a scoop. I heard that Mr. Feuchtwanger is on the train, I want to send a telegram to my newspaper." And Mr. Sharp, who was very frank, he said, "Shut up!" He said, "Don't you think it's dangerous, something like that? You should know as an American." She said, "I'm sorry. I really wanted only my scoop; I

didn't want to do anything else." And she was very quiet afterwards. I was standing again alone, and then finally the other train came, and we went in, and we got also our papers back. But it was always so--one moment it was dangerous, and the next moment we were again secure.

And then we arrived in Lisbon, and it was all full. We had to look the whole night for only to sleep somewhere.

WESCHLER: Were the Portuguese police also out for you, or was that just the Spanish?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, the Portuguese police was hidden mostly. There were mostly German there, German police. Everywhere you heard speaking German. In one café were the German emigrants, and in the other were the German Nazis, sitting. They were there to spy on the emigrants, and when they found somebody who they knew he was an enemy of Hitler, they kidnapped them and sent them back to Germany.

WESCHLER: Lisbon sounds just like Casablanca.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, absolutely. They were not anti-Emigration; they were just afraid of the Nazis, and probably the Nazis had lots of money and bribed people.

And I went also--and then Mr. Sharp said.... We were at the office of the refugee office, and there they told Mr. Sharp that my husband could not stay in Lisbon, not one day--it's too dangerous. He has to go immediately on

a ship. Then we went to the travel agency, and there was no berth empty. But how Mr. Sharp did it--anyway, he found two berths. I think he bribed people to give up their berths. So my husband could go with him to America. And I was left there in Lisbon, all by myself, without money.
[laughter]

WESCHLER: Before we come to you again, this Mr. Sharp sounds like a fascinating character.

FEUCHTWANGER: I still correspond with him, you know.

WESCHLER: I just wanted to get a little better sense of who he was. Was he a young man at the time?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. He was youngish, maybe in the forties.

WESCHLER: Where did he come from?

FEUCHTWANGER: From Boston. He was a reverend in Boston from the Unitarian Church.

WESCHLER: And had he been in Europe long, or was he only there to do this?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think he was only for my husband there, because he came and he left with my husband. He said, "I don't leave without you." Mr. Fry arranged that, because Mr. Fry said, "I cannot do it, because the whole rescue mission could be endangered. There must be somebody who is not known here." And Mr. Sharp was not known.

WESCHLER: What was Mr. Fry like?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a bookish man, a very bookish man.

He later wrote a book which is very interesting; Surrender on Demand was the title. He was--he had to be--he was asked by the American government to be a spy, to do some spying work. He did that very reluctantly, because he wanted only to help the refugees, as a Quaker and a humanitarian, but he could not refuse this what they asked him to do. So this was--he was always afraid he endangers the whole thing, and he was also several times arrested. But he always came out all right. Then he had to leave Spain; he couldn't continue his work on account of this spying thing also. That's what he describes in his book (he didn't tell us, of course, when we saw him).

WESCHLER: So, the ship has just left. Lion is on the ship and everything is okay?

FEUCHTWANGER: Lion was on the ship, and he was safe, and I was there in Portugal.

WESCHLER: He was going to New York on the ship?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, to New York. And I was in Lisbon.

The first thing was I went to the hotel and told them that I can't pay my room, I have no money left--just a few francs, French money which I still had. But I have to--maybe I could have a room. They sent me somewhere where I could sleep--they were very nice to me--and that was in a private house, very poor, in a poor part. There was no water even; I had to go downstairs three stories to fetch

some water to wash myself. I couldn't speak Portuguese. I only spoke a little Spanish: it helped, but not always; sometimes it was I understood the contrary (I understood the words but it was sometimes in another sense). So it was not very easy.

But still I went to the coffee house to meet some people and hear what happened. And there I heard that the Werfels lived in Estoril (that is a spa on the end of the Tejo, where the Tejo goes into the ocean). All the former kings and princes from other countries, for instance, Spanish king and Italian kings--they all were living there. And there the Werfels were, and I decided to go there, and maybe I could get some money.

WESCHLER: What were they still doing there? Werfel really didn't want to leave, did he?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, they wanted to rest a little bit.

WESCHLER: I see. You've described how reluctant Werfel was to leave Europe. And he really seems to be hanging on....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that's true, but also their ship was not yet due. So instead of staying in Lisbon, they went to Estoril. They had money enough to take a taxi or so. But I just took a bus or something, an electric tram, a street-car, I think you call it, but it didn't go until Estoril. So I walked finally.

Then I had again some adventures, you know--you wouldn't

believe it. In my backpack I had always a swimming suit; I had my French swimming suit, which was in two parts, like all the French swimming suits. This road, the street, the highway, went along the ocean--it was not the ocean; it was the Tejo estuary but it looked like the ocean--and I decided to take a swim because in how long I didn't have a bath anymore. So I began to take--I had my swimsuit underneath my dress already. I began to undress (but I had my swimsuit underneath). And then a man came. I thought at first he comes because he is interested in me as a woman, but it was not the case: that would have been much easier. He was from the police. He said it's a crime against the moral that I have a double bath suit instead of a single bath suit, you know, a French bath suit; this is not allowed, and he has to arrest me. I said, "But I didn't know." I spoke a little French, a little Spanish, so I found out that I did something which I shouldn't do. I thought, "Is there a fine?" And I understood that he said yes. I said "How much?" I had about five dollars or so, and I wanted to give it to him. But he didn't take it. He said I have to go to the Marin [Court House], the kind of government place. He left me, and I went on to the Werfels.

WESCHLER: The court did let you go?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it wasn't yet; that was the next day.

The next day they told me I have to go to this Marine court.

I went on my way to the Werfels. When I came, I went to the best hotel--I was sure they would live there--and really they came just back from a walk. Mrs. Werfel, when she saw me with my haggard clothes, she didn't ask me, "How are you?"--she just said, "How much do you need?" And then in her stockings, she had money. Mr. Werfel said, "You know, my wife is a peasant woman"--he said only in jest, in joking, jokingly--"she's a peasant woman, and she doesn't trust any bank or anybody. She always has her money in her stockings." So she took out the money and gave it to me so I could buy a ticket. And then I said, "I want to give you a receipt." But she didn't accept it. I said, "Maybe the ship would be scuttled by the Nazis or whatever can happen. Maybe we don't see each other again." But she said no, she takes the risk.

So I went back, went to the hotel because I wanted to inquire about.... I had something like a ticket also from this man, and I wanted to inquire in the hotel (they spoke French) what I have to do with that, because I had the wrong bathing suit. And the manager began to laugh and called everybody who was around, all his friends, the director of the hotel; they all found it very comical that I had to go to court of the Marine (Ministerium or something).

And then he said, "I will call them. That is just a joke." He called them and then came back and said, "It's serious. You are under arrest. You should be under arrest. They only let you go because you promised to come. You have tried to bribe an officer." Because I didn't understand: I thought I have to pay a fine. So I went there, and fortunately the officer who received me there spoke French. He told me that it's very serious, that I have to go to the jail probably; there is just now a jury or something about my case, a marine jury, and it depends what I have to say. So I told him that the man told me I have the wrong bathing suit and I thought I have to pay a fine. I offered him to pay the fine, and I expected that he give me a receipt for it. "All this sounds much better," he said. "We thought really you wanted to bribe the man, but it seems to me that it was just a misunderstanding. I will go to court"--in the other room there was a court--"and I will tell what you said." And then I was acquitted. [laughter] I wasn't afraid to go to jail, but that they would send me to Germany again. Oh, it was--because they were afraid also of Germany.

WESCHLER: Sure. So what happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. So then finally came my ship; it was not before in two weeks. But I could help a lot of people, because there were people sitting in the coffee

house who didn't know what to do. Some--Mr. Budislawski, you know, from the Weltbühne; he was there with his wife and his...no, he had no child. He was there with his wife, and he was promised that there is a ticket for him and visa ready at the American consulate. There was not the consulate alone, but also an office for the refugees. They told him that he can go to America, but they didn't tell him what ship or when. They just didn't tell. He came everyday, and the Americans treated him very badly. So I said let's go together, and my name maybe will help. When I came, so the consul himself came out and greeted me, and I told him friends of mine wanted to know when they could leave and with what ship. It turned out that it was the next day, and they didn't know. He said, "Of course, your friends will get every possibility to go onto the ship." And then I went with others; they came with a son to this refugee office. Also they were treated very badly by those people, because those were white Russians. They were not Jews; they were not American; they were all White Russian, and seemed anti-Semitic. And nobody knew that. Many White Russians came during the Revolution to France, and they had taken care of--I don't know how they came into this office, but they treated the Jews very badly, very offstandish.

WESCHLER: The White Russians were running the refugee office?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But nobody knew it. There was another refugee office, but they could only give the people advice. But this office had to decide who can get a visa also.

WESCHLER: On behalf of who? Of the Portuguese government or of the Americans?

FEUCHTWANGER: I never found out. I only knew that we had, everybody has to go to this office, and they were treated.... Mr. Scher was his name, and his wife. They were not Jewish, but were also coworkers of the Weltbühne. I knew only his name; I met him the first time there. They came to me in the coffee house when they heard I'm there, you know, and maybe I could help them. In this office they were so rough to him, you know. They just didn't help people tell anything. They said, "You have to wait," and, "We cannot do anything for you," or something like that. Afterwards I found out that they pretended they were also refugees once but they were very choosy whom they would help. Probably they wanted--no leftist people. I didn't go into the, you know, into the details; I just wanted to help people. And when I came it helped a lot. And the Schers also got the visa with their child.

WESCHLER: So how did you leave? You left on a ship?

FEUCHTWANGER: I left on a ship. The only shock was-- but it was no danger--that the man who greeted me was a German officer once, before. He was--I don't know--he

left Germany, and I thought he's a spy. On an American ship. He told me immediately--he spoke German to me-- he gave me the best cabin. Many didn't get a cabin, and many had to share the cabins or they had to sleep; some had to sleep on the pool table. You know, everything was full of people, and some had to sleep on the floor. He gave me the best cabin, and every night were fruits on my bed. But I didn't speak a word with him. I distrusted everybody, and also I didn't want to speak German in those days. He told me that he was once a German officer. He was very good looking, with blond hair and blue eyes, and that was also reason to mistrust him. [laughter]

WESCHLER: What was the name of the ship that you came on?

FEUCHTWANGER: I forgot. [S.S. Exeter, October 18, 1940]

WESCHLER: Do you remember the name of the ship of Lion by any chance?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Maybe I could look it up. [S.S. Excalibur, October 5, 1940]

WESCHLER: So, I take it, without further incident you arrived in the United States?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was not without. Even then there happened something. When I came, when I arrived in New York....

WESCHLER: One question before that. Was there danger of these ships being torpedoed by the Germans?

FEUCHTWANGER: I didn't know about it. I heard only later that it was dangerous. It was not the war yet, but you never could trust.... America was a year later in the war, '41. Seventh of December, 1941, was Pearl Harbor. But it was always dangerous. But I was not afraid on the ship.

WESCHLER: So you arrived in New York....

FEUCHTWANGER: But when I arrived in New York, everybody could come down--there came some journalists to interview me, and they left, everybody left--but you had to have a paper again to go out of the ship. I didn't get the paper. I didn't get this certificate or whatever it was. Finally came a man and said I should come with him, an older man--even an old man. I had to go way down in the ship, way down in the darkest part of the ship, and there he opened a little room. There I was sitting with him, and he spoke with me and said, "You know, your visa has already expired, your emergency visa. Or it expires in two days. It's not worthwhile that you go out of the ship. We send you back. You stay on the ship, and we send you back." I didn't even answer him. I was so full of contempt that an American treated me like that, so I didn't even answer him. I was just sitting there and looking at him. He said, "Why don't you answer?" He expected that I break down, you know, and cry. And I didn't. I didn't say anything. He said, "What do you have to say?" I said, "My husband is down on the port and probably also his publisher. I am very sure he will get me out." And

then Mr. Huebsch, his publisher, came up to the ship; he said, "What happened? We waited. For an hour we waited for you. Everybody was out from the ship, there was nobody there." And that was just--he must have been a sadist and wanted to torture me, to make me afraid. So I was rather cool. I was really not very much afraid. I was more shocked about the whole thing.

WESCHLER: Well, I guess we will stop for now. There is one little story that ties up one loose end, about seeing Mrs. Werfel again in New York. You might just tell under what conditions you.... On this memo that you wrote for me, you mention that later on you were able to return the money.

FEUCHTWANGER: We lived in the same hotel, in the Hotel St. Moritz. Everybody was there in this Hotel St. Moritz. There was the composer of operettas, you know, musicals, an Austrian--Strauss, I think, Oskar Strauss. Then there was Remarque, Erich Maria Remarque. And the Werfels, and [Carl] Zuckmayer, and I don't know, the whole....

WESCHLER: Otto Klemperer?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I think. Also I remember that I was once in the elevator, and there was a Dr. Erich Mosse, who was the nephew of the greatest newspaper owner in Berlin. He was a psychiatrist already in New York. He told me in the elevator that he just met in the elevator another, a

very old psychiatrist, and he said to this man, "Oh, it's terrible always to listen to those poor people who are troubled in their mind." And the old psychiatrist said, "Who listens?" [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, on the note of "Who listens?" we've been listening a lot and I think we'll stop. On our next interview we will go back and look at some final details about Sanary, and then we'll pick up again in New York.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

TAPE NUMBER: XX, SIDE TWO

AUGUST 15, 1975

WESCHLER: Today I'd like to talk a bit about the period before you escaped. We have a few more stories to tell about that, along with some general observations about your life. Then later on, perhaps, we'll make it to New York.

I'd like to start with something which we've talked about occasionally, although not on tape, and that's just generally your marriage, in particular the way in which both of you handled the question of fidelity in your marriage; you might just talk a bit about that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Well, we didn't want to marry, you remember, because we thought that everybody has to have his freedom. It was only a necessity that we married, but we never considered ourselves married. We always thought that love is much more important than to be married, and why should we ask anybody, either the parents or a priest, or the state, or whatever, how you have to--how to love each other, or how to live with each other. But since that is the rule of the land, still, we had one thing in common, that we had both agreed that we would not interfere in the life of the other, and everyone would have his freedom to do what he wanted. We trusted each other, and we were

absolutely frank. We didn't lie to each other, and this was in as far as--it is much more easy to live together when you are free, when you are frank. But we didn't have to speak of the details, as some people do. For instance, I know one man who said he allows his wife to do what she wants, but she has to tell him every detail. This was not the case in our relation. But the most important was that we always felt we are free to do what we wanted.

WESCHLER: You had mentioned--well, first of all, you had mentioned that on his side there were two or three occasions, although none of them ever really threatened the marriage.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not threatening. I didn't feel so much threatened in the marriage, but I felt more that it was wrecking his character, because he became too much self-centered. These women were so much devoted and also in love, or pretended to be in love, with my husband, that he became too much satisfied with himself, and this was not his nature. Before he was always doubting, and wanting to do better, and this--I feared also for his work, for his character and for his work. He was another person, not the person I always knew. But this also passed--those things just ended.

WESCHLER: Were your fears justified, in terms of his work?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, on the contrary. For instance, in Sanary, when he was always with other women--he went to Cannes

or to the casinos; he thought, of course, he would win, but he always lost huge sums. He came back tired and upset, and very depressed, and also his stomach ailment was always coming back. So I was afraid that it would also diminish his work. But it was most amazing that he wrote his best writing during this time. For instance, the Flavius Josephus [books]. Later on, I recognized that a person, or a writer, has to go through hell to know what life is and also to be able to feel with others, with the persons who are real. Of course, the persons he writes about are real for him, so he could feel with them.

WESCHLER: Just incidentally here, this gambling thing is a recurrent theme. It is something that's problematic for him, and my sense is that he generally tried not to get involved in it, but occasionally....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was in his family. I remember that he always said his whole family liked to gamble. They didn't gamble with high sums, but just the feeling of gambling. For instance, there is a Jewish custom to gamble on Christmas. The Jews considered the whole of Christianity as a grave danger for them, so they devoted Christmas to the Devil. That's why they gambled on Christmas. It must have something to do with the Kabbalah, I don't know, or whatever it was. My husband always told me that the religious, the Orthodox Jews liked to gamble on Christmas.

WESCHLER: That may explain certain things about Las Vegas.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. [laughter] Anyway, it explains that he learned to gamble. He saw it in his youth, and the excitement, and so--even though they played with very small sums, it is not the money; it's the gambling itself, the sensation....

WESCHLER: Was it a severe problem for him, or was it that he just occasionally indulged in gambling?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was only when other people...

WESCHLER: ...taunted him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Taunted him. Absolutely, that's the right word. He never thought about it here--never--and he also told me before, when he lost so much money in Monte Carlo in our youth, that he would never gamble again. Usually I believed what he said; he never broke his word. But it was just that he thought other people would--the German secretary said, "You are ridiculous, always sitting at home with your wife. Why don't you go out and gamble and take a mâtresse?" [laughter] Things like that.

WESCHLER: That's a taunt if I ever heard one. Okay, getting back to the sexual thing again. Just before we started, you described something that was very interesting to me. You compared Lion's...what I would call "charisma" with Brecht's.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. It was very similar with Brecht. The women were like hypnotized. They followed him from Germany, and even endangered themselves, because they could have.... There were a lot of spies, the so-called Fifth Column of the Nazis there. But they came every year to see him again.

WESCHLER: In this context--I think we could tell this story here--there was an interesting thing that Helene Weigel told you later on in life.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. When I saw her--it was not long before her death--she told me that sometimes she thought that she couldn't stand it anymore, the life with Brecht. Then she thought of my example, and that helped her a lot. She told me that, and I didn't even know that it's so--I was never so very near to her. Then she told me that. I was very amazed.

WESCHLER: Were there times when you couldn't stand it either, do you think?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, never.

WESCHLER: It was a completely different attitude that you had.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: Also, looking at it from the other side of the telescope, there were occasions when you too had....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I was not very faithful when I was young,

but not very often. And also I always told my husband about it afterwards. He just ignored it. He didn't feel about it anymore, and it was only very fleeting. He knew that our marriage wasn't in danger. But it was because I was curious. Also I was in love for a short time, or intrigued by a certain man, and interested in sport, in skiing, so that was always--but never anything serious.

WESCHLER: I'd been wondering about some of those skiing trips as you told me about them. [laughter] Was there a point at which these kinds of things no longer seemed to interest you?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was when Hitler came to power, I just couldn't do it anymore; [I could no longer] think about those things. I knew that I had to stay with Lion, whatever he's doing, and I just couldn't think about anybody else, anymore.

WESCHLER: I think that really came out last time; also in the story of your escape, how horrible it was, but at the same time, what an incredibly forging experience that must have been, the whole experience and excitement of escaping.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But the funny thing about it--during the escape, I didn't realize how dangerous it was. Only afterwards Mr. Sharp told me about this. Also when I read the book of Varian Fry.

WESCHLER: Surrender on Demand?

FEUCHTWANGER: Surrender on Demand. He wrote about the great danger we were in. We both didn't realize it so much. I think during the danger you have to think what you have to do, and you only feel it afterwards. Afterwards, there comes this breakdown usually. But even afterwards, we had no time for that. We were in New York, everything was exciting, and we had no time for a breakdown.

WESCHLER: Okay. One last question about fidelity. Do you think that your marriage was typical in this sense?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not typical because we were absolutely open to each other. And I think usually there are more hidden things between the two. We didn't speak about the details, but we knew what happened. Also, my husband always said, "You don't have to worry. You are the only one." On his last day, he said that, too. But he never said it in a sentimental way; he said only, "You silly woman, don't you know what is between us?" Or something like that.

WESCHLER: One other thing I want to talk about briefly before we turn to specific stories about Sanary. In his book Exil, Lion has one chapter called "Unwelcome Guests" which was a very moving chapter. He brings out the way in which exile brought out the best and the worst in people. Certainly during the escape stories, we've had occasion to talk about many of the best things that were

brought out in people. But my sense of some of the things you've told me off the tape, about Sanary, is that there were whole parts of the experience in Sanary which were really petty.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. It was--I think there was lots of gossip. It had much to do with the sex life there and also, in this case, with the whole atmosphere of the beautiful landscape, the warm nights and the stars, and whatever you want, the dancing. It was a very voluptuous atmosphere in Sanary, and this brought out much of this life. Of course, when we were so near together, so many people who knew each other, there came a lot of gossip. And it's not always--sometimes this can also be dangerous.

WESCHLER: In what way?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, that the Nazis heard about it, and they could know who came to Sanary--people who had to return to Germany because they had their work there, [people who] were Gentiles. I was always afraid of the spies. The Fifth Column.

WESCHLER: But you would attribute the parts of that life which were less than honorable to look back upon--you would attribute them to the kind of climate and atmosphere, rather than to the pressure of politics?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely. Maybe it was an escape. It could be an escape, also for.... But I don't want to

excuse that. And also it's a thing which is very natural: this sex life is very natural. It is not said by Nature that you have to be always faithful. I think they shouldn't excuse that or find an excuse for it. It's just nature. You have to take it as it is: the bad with the good things which come with it.

WESCHLER: Okay, well I now wanted to return to--we had a few more specific stories to tell about Sanary, about what the life was like. I'm getting the sense that in addition to the permanent community in Sanary, there was a large rotating group of people that came through, and we might talk about some of them. You had mentioned to me off tape that in addition to just Germans or Jews, there were Americans and British and Austrians and Dutch, and so forth. You might talk about some of these people who came to visit.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. The Huxleys were there, and they had a lot of visitors from England. There came members of Parliament, and many of the press, and very rich playboys. I think it got around in many countries that this was a colony of artists, and people were interested and came even from America. Also from Germany came many who had friends there even before the Nazis came and who wanted to continue their friendship.

There came, for instance, a young actress who was a very talented actress, and she came every year to see us,

and she told us a very funny story. She had to prove--she had a hard time as an actress, first, because all the men in her family had the name of Sabbath.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Leonie Dielmann. She played also in Jud Süß, I think, in the play Jud Süß. She had to prove that she is a Gentile, because this name Sabbath was suspected by the Nazis. She had succeeded; she had all the papers which were necessary and everything, [to prove] that her ancestors with the name of Sabbath were all Protestant reverends. But when she brought those papers to the town house--or city hall, I think it was called--the man there who was in charge said, "Yes, I think it's all right, you are not Jewish. But do you think that you are now a better actress?" [laughter] And this was so--really--it gave us new hope, this little humorous remark, it gave us new hope for Germany.

WESCHLER: Well, you must really have had to look very, very closely to find cause for new hope for Germany at that time.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that's true, ja. But anything was good enough.

WESCHLER: I will just mention some names, because I have a sheet here listing some stories you wanted to tell me, and you can just tell the stories about them. Sybille von Schönebeck.

FEUCHTWANGER: Von Schönebeck. She was the daughter of a general, from Stuttgart, I think. She lived mostly in Sanary already before we went there, and was a good friend of Mrs. Huxley. Later she wrote very interesting books under another name, Sybille Bedford, about modern trials in England. I read also a review about her in Time, I think. She was the daughter of a general, but she was also a great friend of all the emigrants there. For instance, she helped me find the house, which--I told you, I think, with the little Ford which had no door.

WESCHLER: No, you didn't tell us that.

FEUCHTWANGER: She had a little Ford--an old antique, you could say it was; it would have been better in the Smithsonian Institute--and it had no doors. We went driving around. Mrs. Huxley told her to do that, because--you see, she really is the only one who knows the country well enough, and she would find a house. That was the house on the cliff, which we found together. She later lived together with a painter who was an American, but she was always in Germany. Her father was the painter who had this apartment [in Munich] in which Georg Kaiser lived--[I told you about how Kaiser] sold the rugs there. She was from a very rich American family; her grandfather was a brewer. But she lived in Germany, was educated in Germany. She could even speak Bavarian.

WESCHLER: What was the name of this...?

FEUCHTWANTER: Eva Herrmann. She also came there, and she lived--and was also friends of the Huxleys. She now lives in Santa Barbara, in Montecito. She built a small but very beautiful house there, high up, with a view. A painting of hers hangs in my husband's study.

Then there came the painter Wilhelm Thöny, from Austria. He was a famous painter. His paintings hang in the [Graphische Sammlung] Albertina museum in Vienna. He was in France to paint a big portrait, a more-than-life-sized portrait of the archbishop of Paris. His wife was the sister of Miss Herrmann. He painted this painting here, which is a sketch from Sanary, in fact from right where we were.

WESCHLER: Just to identify it, it's a landscape....

FEUCHTWANGER: From our house, a view of our house. And on the left side was the house of Thomas Mann, nearer to the ocean, which was called Villa Tranquille. (That means "quiet.") It was a very small house, and the most amazing thing was his desk. It was in a little room, and the desk was not bigger than a coffee table, and there Thomas Mann wrote his big novels. Joseph and His Brethren, you know, his greatest, longest novels.

WESCHLER: His novel about the cradle of civilization was almost written on a cradle itself, wasn't it? Just to identify this painting, it's in the German classic room here in

the Feuchtwanger library. Okay. Well, first I wanted to ask you very quickly about Sybille von Schönebeck. Her father was a general in the German army. Did that create tension?

FEUCHTWANTER: No, he had died already. But still you can see the family, you know, what different kind of people there were. She was a great admirer of Huxley, and mostly a friend of his first wife [Maria], who died later.

WESCHLER: Let's see. Other people you wanted to mention were--who was it that married [Kurt] Eisner's nephew?

FEUCHTWANTER: Ja, there was Lilo Dammert Aisner. She was a young, very bright German girl, who was a great friend of all the theater people in Berlin. I don't know exactly what she did--I think she was from a wealthy family. She was still very young, and we met her through Erich Engel, who was the director of Kalkutta, 4. Mai and The Threepenny Opera. She influenced Erich Engel very much, in his work. She was a very good friend of my husband, and she came also to see him. Later she came over here to America. She had married Aisner, the French nephew of Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian prime minister. She lived in our house for a while in Sanary, because nobody was living there when we left, and she even brought our clothes over. She pretended that the clothes belonged to her. She brought all our clothes over, which was really very good because I had really not more than what I had on my body. I had bought it in Lisbon,

and I couldn't find anything else but a white costume. I arrived in New York, in the snow, in November, and it wasn't very warm. So she brought all our clothes, and all our things, too--we didn't even expect that.

WESCHLER: An incidental question I'd been meaning to ask you about clothes, just parenthetically: when did you begin emphasizing your Chinese style?

FEUCHTWANGER: This Mr. [Milton] Koblitz--I told you, you know, the friend of the Schoenbergs--he was in China and brought me some Chinese costumes. It's so long ago--I still have it. He brought this from China and gave it to me. It fitted, I liked it, and from then on.... And then we met a beautiful Chinese lady who lives here and is married with an American lawyer [Eta Lee-Thoms]. She came with her children; she was divorced from her Chinese husband who was the greatest banker in China. She became Catholic, which was very fashionable then, and the children also; she came here and married here. She had all her dresses always coming from Hong Kong. She knew a firm there, and she sent for pieces of material from them to have a choice for the colors or patterns, and they have her measurements. She also gave me some of those blouses, or what do you call it? Everybody who went to Hong Kong always brought me something, so I never had to buy anything. I didn't discontinue this anymore, because it was so simple. I didn't

have to go shopping, not even window shopping, and I hated all that. So it was the easiest thing to have, and it was just by chance.

WESCHLER: So this is a Californian development?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, that's true. But in Sanary, you never had to wear those things because it was so warm.

WESCHLER: Okay. Some other people that you talked to me about before included Monsieur Luchaire.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Monsieur [Jules] Luchaire. Remember you saw, I think, this picture of me in the Feuchtwanger catalog [of the Berlin Akademie der Künste].

WESCHLER: At the birthday of Heinrich Mann.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. The birthday of Heinrich Mann. He was my escort at the party of Heinrich Mann. I was sitting between Heinrich Mann and him. He was the cultural attaché of the French embassy, and he always came to Sanary. He had two very beautiful daughters. One granddaughter [Margueritte] married a young Jewish doctor, and also came to Sanary; it was by chance I met her, because it was already my last day. His granddaughter [Corinne], who was very beautiful, had an affair with the governor, the Nazi governor. His name was [Otto] Abetz.

WESCHLER: The governor of Paris?

FEUCHTWANGER: Of Paris, ja. She had an affair with him. Later on, after the war, her father Jean was condemned to

death and hanged by the French as a traitor.

WESCHLER: Did Luchaire survive the war himself?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he did survive the war, but he didn't stay in France anymore, as the father of the hanged man. He wrote it also in a book [Confessions d'un Français Moyen]. I have the book. He lived in Italy and wrote his whole story, and by chance somebody whom I met here was a friend of his, I didn't even know, a lady. She's a Viennese lady, Mrs. Schor, who lives here. She gave me the book of Luchaire. She met him in Italy, I think. He writes the whole story, and he wrote that he just couldn't live anymore in France as the father of the hanged spy.

WESCHLER: What had he done during the war? Had he stayed in France?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I think he was in France during the war. He didn't do anything. He was not in the government anymore. He didn't work with the Vichy government. But since he was not Jewish....

The other girl, the granddaughter, I met by chance. I heard that in the little house where [Ludwig] Marcuse lived before--he left much earlier, of course, for America--there lived a young woman with a child. She had nothing to eat, I heard, and she's hungry. Somebody told me that. I didn't have much, but I still had something to eat. If I hadn't then our maid, Leontine, would have fed me. I couldn't

go myself, but I sent Leontine to her with all the conserves I had, and some money, and so. Later I heard that she was the daughter of Luchaire, and that she had married a young French Jewish doctor who had to go, the first day, into the war. It was so fast, he couldn't even say goodbye to his wife. He immediately joined the army because he was so young. She didn't even have the right to go to the bank and get the money. In France there was this law that the wife couldn't go and take anything of the money of the husband. She was there having nothing to eat. So I helped her a little bit with the worst. Later on I think the government took over when she complained.

But the first days of the war, France was so little prepared for everything that the soldiers had to take their own blankets with them. They had no blankets for the soldiers. I remember that the husband of our maid Leontine--we called him Bouboule (that means a fat ball, but he was very thin; we called him Bouboule because he was so thin--his wife called him that)--he had to go also the first day to the army. It was terrible. Leontine was absolutely dissolved, you know, in despair. And I gave him blankets of mine, so he would have warm blankets. He couldn't take the blanket of Leontine's or she wouldn't have anymore. They had no shoes; they had no blankets. They had to bring their own shoes. They didn't have those military shoes, so they had thin shoes which

were not usable for the military service.

WESCHLER: Do you know what happened to the granddaughter of Luchaire?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I don't. I think she met her husband again, later. It was just the beginning. But if you are hungry and starving with a child for a week, then you don't live anymore. It wouldn't help, later on, to meet him. He was in the army, of course, and she went probably to the city hall and got what was necessary. But in the first days there was nowhere money. The banks were also closed, you know; you couldn't even go to the bank. And my money was immediately frozen.

WESCHLER: Okay, some other people you wanted to talk about included Baron Rothschild; apparently he was in southern France.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, there was a Baron [Goldschmied] Rothschild from Frankfurt who also lived in the neighborhood, on the other side of Toulon. He had a fantastic estate there, enormous estate with vineyards, and meadows, and forests, directly on the ocean, and above in the hills. But you had to go half an hour from the house to the ocean. [On the walk, one] met carriages with grapes; you know, they had just been picking the grapes. All that really, it was like paradise on this estate. We went down to the beach in the evening. The beach was--there was lots of rocks and so forth. It was

very picturesque. On one side the sun set. It was bloody red--the firmament was absolutely bloody red. When this became a little paler, there came the very rare natural event, the "blue hour" they called it. Out of this fading red came blue, seeped through a bluish color over the whole firmament which was almost dark then, already had stars. And there was a blue--like a blue dust. This was a famous apparition which is called "blue hour." It happens very seldom. Afterwards we went up to the house and had fresh lobsters and partridges, ordered for us from Paris. We brought with us the famous statistician Emil Gumbel, and also the famous philosopher, Ernst Bloch, who came to see us in Sanary. They both were, of course, very welcome, because Rothschild always wanted to see important people and to meet them. After dinner we were joined by Emil Spiro, who was a famous German painter, an impressionist, mostly a portraitist. He was there to paint the portrait of Mrs. Baby Rothschild. Later they also came here. We met all of them here again. I remember when we bought the house, they came to see us here. She [noted] how much resemblance this has with our view on the Riviera in France. Only, what I always say is that it's more [like] Thursday. France is always Sunday, you know: everything is too much painted, colorful, too perfected. Here it's Thursday. The ocean, everything, is everyday. You can live better here than in

this rather exciting landscape of the Riviera. There you should be more seldom.

WESCHLER: Do you have any stories about Ernst Bloch?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ernst Bloch came here from France, and his wife was an architect. Of course, as a philosopher in a foreign country, you don't earn very much. He didn't know English so well. So he lived from what his wife made as an architect here. She supported him, I believe, in the beginning.

WESCHLER: Had you known him well in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: We knew him but not very well. He wrote a very nice [essay] about my husband, "Goya in Wall Street." When my husband had his seventieth birthday he wrote about my husband as Goya in Wall Street. You know, that is very significant for here, because Goya is involved against Wall Street, in a way. So he calls my husband Goya in Wall Street. In the middle of the movie moguls and those sorts of things, here's L.F. Goya who is not satisfied with Wall Street.

WESCHLER: When he was in America, was he despondent because he was so ill employed?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was always very philosophical about it. He would sit--he was very good looking, kind of like a sculpture, a wooden sculpture, you know. Ja, and he had a pipe, and he would sit there and listen to what the

other people said, somewhat ironical. He was also a man for--I think women liked him also very much. He went back to Germany, to East Germany, and was recognized as a great philosopher there. After a while he left East Germany for West Germany. But he's still very leftist. He left the landscape, let's say geographically, but he didn't leave his philosophy of Marxism.

WESCHLER: Speaking of that, it brings to mind a whole group of people we haven't talked about, who perhaps you have some stories about, members of the Frankfurt School-- I mean people like Herbert Marcuse, and so forth. Did you know them?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't know him in Europe, I met him--he came here to our house. The other day I had to call him for something, and he was so nice. He said, "Don't you remember, I was at your house?" I said, "Yes, I remember, but that was a long time ago."

WESCHLER: How about Jürgen Habermas? Did you know him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Who?

WESCHLER: Habermas--these are just personal favorites, that I'm asking--or Max Horkheimer?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know of Habermas. But Horkheimer I knew very well. There was also his friend, Felix Weil. He had much money from Argentina, and with the whole money, he founded this Social Institute in Frankfurt [Institut für

Sozialforschung]. He gave all his money for this institute. There was very little left for himself. But he built here a house, also in Pacific Palisades, and then he left for Switzerland, I think. He died not long ago. He continued here, in a way, this Social Institute with Horkheimer. . How they did it, I don't know, but anyway they both went back. And Adorno and also another professor, Pollock. I think he died very early, then, in Germany. And Horkheimer became then the dean of the university at Frankfurt.

WESCHLER: What was Horkheimer like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Horkheimer. He was good looking, and also a very humorous man. I liked him very much. And tolerant. He had discussions with everybody but in a very nice way. Even if he had another opinion, it was nice to hear it also. Thomas Mann came to his house; Thomas Mann even broke his shoulder at his house. There was a step from one room to the other, and he fell and broke his shoulder.

There was also...ja. [Theodor] Wiesengrund, another philosopher, who was mostly interested in music. He helped Thomas Mann with his novel, Dr. Faustus? Wiesengrund was his real name, but he had another name, an Italian name.

WESCHLER: Adorno.

FEUCHTWANGER: Adorno, yes. Adorno. He was also at this [Frankfurt school]: he also went back to Germany, and taught Marxism, and was a very--it seems he was a very highly regarded

there. I didn't like him too much, personally. He had a wife who was so devoted to him, he could do what he wanted with her and she always looked up to him. It was a little too much. [laughter] He went back to Germany, as I said, and taught Marxism. Then there was a kind of riots several years ago, in the sixties, in Frankfurt, by the students. Then he was very upset about his students who would like to realize what he taught, you know, into everyday life. He really died very soon afterwards. Because he was so terribly upset that the students wanted to realize what he taught them.

WESCHLER: Were there indications of that already here, with Adorno? Do you think he was...?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no. I didn't even know what school he was. I knew he was a philosopher, and he was always very klugsnacking--what they call it--where he spoke only about very high things, very scientific and so. But he had not much sense of humor. He was also an expert of modern music. He explained to Thomas Mann for his novel the twelve tone theory. By the way, have you heard this story about Schoenberg when he met me at the market?

WESCHLER: You've told me but I don't think on tape, so why don't you tell....

FEUCHTWANGER: One day I went to the Brentwood Market--that is like the Farmer's Market over here. It is a market

where you find everything; all the little shops and so. And there he was with his wife. He was accompanying her for the shopping, because they don't send at the Brentwood Market; you have to go yourself. He saw me coming from afar, and he shouted, but fortunately in German, "You have to know, I have no syphilis." I was a little taken aback. I was only glad that it was in German. "Well," he said, "you know Thomas Mann just published a novel, and he takes my theory; everybody thinks the man of whom he speaks, that it's I. And that I have syphilis." And he said, "Why didn't he ask me? Why did he ask this Mr. Wiesengrund?" He always said [Wiesengrund] instead of Adorno. He said "I could have explained even better about my music." Oh, he was so desperate. He threatened to sue Mr. Mann, and also the publisher, because everybody would know that.... Thomas Mann thought more about Nietzsche, you know. It was a combination of Nietzsche and another philosopher, [Martin] Heidegger. (He had something to do with the modern existentialism.) And all that is in this novel. But it is always that this man, who later--like Nietzsche--died of syphilis, had invented the twelve tone theory, so everybody would think that it was Schoenberg. And he insisted that in the next edition, it has to be changed, or there had to be made a remark that Thomas Mann didn't mean him. They had to print that, in the next edition. I have the first

edition; in that it's not printed. But Thomas Mann made it in a way, so it wasn't very nice to Schoenberg either. He said, "A certain composer thought it was he who is the portrait, who gave me the idea of his music," or something like that. I don't know exactly what it was. But anyway, later on, Schoenberg said that he was contented as to what had happened. He wasn't very happy about it, but.... A funny thing was that Alma Mahler Werfel--the wife of Franz Werfel, widow of Gustav Mahler--had come to Schoenberg and told him that the first time. Before Schoenberg had even read it. She said, "They cannot take that. You have to do something about it." She said that to Schoenberg. Then she went to Thomas Mann and said, "You know, Schoenberg is very upset about what you did to him." Those are these things, you know, what I call gossip. Anyway, I know that when Mrs. Schoenberg went to Zurich she visited Mrs. Mann. She told me that. But at first it was very cooling.

WESCHLER: Was the whole community involved in it, taking sides and so forth?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. They just laughed about it. And nobody would have known it, only I knew, and I didn't tell anybody about this conversation. I'm not a gossip. I shouldn't even tell it now. I have a bad conscience that I do it now.

WESCHLER: Okay. Well, we'll cover that ground more

thoroughly when we come to California. Let's return to Sanary. [pause in tape] I wanted to get a little bit closer view of the period leading up to the themes we covered last time, the escape. I guess we start with the late thirties and the gradual increasing of tensions. This, I take it, is the time when we're approaching the Munich crisis and so forth, and it's in fact the case that Lion was interned the first time by the French. You might tell us what happened there.

FEUCHTWANGER: We had been told that he had to go to Toulon; he didn't even know exactly what it was, to be interned, or whatever. We didn't know what should come out of it. I just brought him with my car to Toulon. And there it was a small building which looked almost like a garage. There we found other German--other people we knew. For instance, [Alfred] Kantorowicz was there, and also a famous writer from Czechoslovakia. And then they went from there to Les Milles.

WESCHLER: Was this roughly at the time of the Munich crisis, or was it before?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was afterwards. It was the Munich crisis that brought about Czechoslovakia. My husband was just in Paris when this happened, when [Edouard] Daladier came back and [Neville] Chamberlain said, "Peace in our time." So it was not--Hitler had already invaded Austria.

WESCHLER: So this was at a later point but before the actual outbreak of the war between France and Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, it was in the war. My husband was interned with the Germans.

WESCHLER: Oh, I see. There was a period just called the-- what was it called?

FEUCHTWANGER: The Phony War.

WESCHLER: The Phony War. It was roughly at this time that all this happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. It was afterwards. After the Phony War. Because during the Phony War I was still skiing in the mountains, near the Mont Blanc.

WESCHLER: Okay. So what happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was just called. He had been ordered to come there, and then from there they have been brought to Les Milles. He was away about a month or so and then he came back from Les Milles, because they found--I did my best, and the mayor did his best to prove to the French that my husband was not a German, but a German refugee. So he came back for Christmas.

I remember another man who was a Gentile from Germany, who already lived a long time there, and his wife. They had a big house, very beautiful, and they gave big parties. His wife was very upset that her husband didn't come back. He was a German who always visited Germany for a short time

and came back to his house and family. The French didn't have the intention to intern the refugees; they had only the intention to intern every German, but among the refugees there were many Nazis who were spies, who pretended to be refugees. Some had even learned Hebrew, had passports with Jewish names, and were among the refugees. They said, "Now that it is war, we have to intern everybody who is German, without exception." But then finally they found out who were no German, no more German, you could say. Then my husband was released, for Christmas. Then said the wife of this man who was still there--his son was of the military age, was also there; he was the stepson of this lady--she said, "Isn't it terrible? My husband is still interned while this Communist Feuchtwanger has been freed." This was of course very dangerous, because the Communists were also interned. There was a special camp for the Communists.

WESCHLER: Really? What was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was for those who fought in Spain with the Loyalists. They had all been sent to camps before the war with Germany, already.

WESCHLER: Where were some of the camps that they were sent to?

FEUCHTWANGER: One was in Vernet, which was in the mountains. They had to live there in the snow without heating, no

water, no washing possibility. Dr. Friedrich Wolf, the playwright, who was there, told me later that he had always washed himself with snow, because he believed in health and was very strong--very athletic. But not all could do that. The most funny thing was then how they were freed. You wouldn't believe it, how that came about. They were in Vernet, and they were in great danger, to be delivered to the Germans.

WESCHLER: One second. Let me turn over the tape before we find out what happens.

TAPE NUMBER: XXI, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 15, 1975 and
AUGUST 19, 1975

WESCHLER: We're in the middle of a very exciting story of how the Communists were freed. Now were these German Communists, as well as Spanish Loyalists?

FEUCHTWANGER: Only German.

WESCHLER: Oh, it was the Germans who were Communists who were put in a special camp?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they had been there in Spain. That's why they were considered Communists. They were with the Loyalists in Spain.

WESCHLER: And what happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: But the funny thing was.... For instance, Kantorowicz was not interned there and was not considered a Communist. He was also in the south of France, near Sanary, with his wife. He was interned with my husband, but not as a Communist, only as a German.

WESCHLER: One would have thought that French Government would have realized that the Communists were against the Nazis.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, the French government had other things to do, rather than to think of the emigrants. They were in desperate shape. They knew they were not prepared, and

they were afraid; or they became Nazis themselves. Among themselves, they were so divided; so many Nazis were there. So many people were denouncing one another. It was chaos, really, the whole war. They had no time to think about emigrants. They said, "At least you are safe from the Germans. We don't allow that you will be [captured]." [Edouard] Herriot said that before the war. Herriot, when he was still president--or not president, prime minister--said, "We have a camp in the Pyrenees where we bring all the refugees to be safe before the Nazis. We want to save them." And that's why they put them in the most southern part of France in the Pyrenees. Because then it was agreed that the Germans [would not] go there. So nobody would think that they were in danger. They said, "Now we have to put them aside, or away; they will stay there, and they are at least safe."

WESCHLER: Now, this Communist camp was there also?

FEUCHTWANGER: The Communist camp already existed when Franco took over, and some of the Spanish people had to flee to France. There were many Spanish people who fled who were Loyalists but not Communists, but who were.... (I told you about the gardener who was an officer of the army.) But those who came from Spain, those Germans who came from Spain, were considered Communists because they were on the side of the Loyalists. And so they were sent to Vernet, which was

in the middle of the snow.

WESCHLER: In the Alps or the Pyrenees?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't even know where it is. No, not the Pyrenees. The Pyrenees are not so cold as these are.* They had not water, nothing to wash themselves, only snow. And I [recall] Wolf, the playwright, who was a doctor, and he thought it was very unhygienic, so he washed himself with snow, in the winter. They had very little to eat, but still it was [possible] sometimes to send them something. But we didn't do it with our name, because we were afraid that it would have complications. The secretary sent it always; she was Swiss.

WESCHLER: You had enough complications with another woman accusing you of being a Communist.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. So she was Swiss, and she sent him always packages on our [behalf].

But then they were freed, and this is the most miraculous thing that could happen: you remember that there was this nonaggression pact between Stalin and Hitler. Stalin used this nonaggression pact to help all the communists who were in France, or in the hands of the Nazis. It was agreed that he can ask for them. So he asked for the people in Vernet, saying they were Russian subjects and have to come back to Russia. So they were freed.

*Actually, Vernet is in the Pyrenees.

They were sent to Russia, in sealed cars, by train, and came finally to Moscow. That was--those I knew--were Friedrich Wolf, Rudolf Leonhard, and [Gustav] Regler, who was from the Saar. He had to do something with the Saar region not voting for Germany but for France. . Regler was not Communist, but he was sent there, and later also was freed with the Communists.

WESCHLER: Did most of those people stay in Russia afterwards?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, they were very welcome there. Wolf had his sons there, but they all went back to East Germany later. He lived in a house there with his wife. His sons, their children, were educated in Russia, in the Russian language, but they're also Germans; they didn't become Russian subjects. One is Konrad Wolf, who made the movie Goya.

WESCHLER: I see.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. He's the leading movie man there and president of the Academy. He was a pupil of [Gregory] Kosintsev, who was a student of Eisenstein. Kosintsev told me that--he made those famous movies of King Lear and Hamlet and Don Quixote--and he told me, very loud, so everybody would hear it in Moscow, that he was using the translations of [Boris] Pasternak, who was not on very good terms with the government.

WESCHLER: Okay, I want to get back to Sanary right now. Lion has just had a close call; he's just been in a camp,

and he was freed. Why didn't you try to get out at that point?

FEUCHTWANGER: We tried. We tried. We had our American visa and also French exit visas, but they canceled our exit visa, so we couldn't get out. And then my husband....

WESCHLER: Why?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I was skiing. When I came back from skiing, my husband said, "You know, they canceled my exit visa." I said, "They probably need you for propaganda against the Nazis." Because we were in the part which was not occupied, or not even in danger to be occupied, because the French--the Nazis were not that far yet. I said, "They probably need you for propaganda against the Nazis." But it was a great mistake that I thought that. I thought they would--because they did [use] Thomas Mann and my husband to speak for the German radio, for the clandestine radio. So I thought maybe they wanted him for that. I didn't want him to go away but to help the government. We didn't understand that it was the government that did it to please the Nazis, not that they wanted our help. Because the government was already against the Emigration.

WESCHLER: But isn't it that the second time he was sent-- it was still May, 1940. The Vichy Government hadn't been established yet.

FEUCHTWANGER: Not during the first, that's true.

WESCHLER: Right.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was during the second internment.

WESCHLER: Right, but.... So anyway, the exit visa was canceled.

FEUCHTWANGER: From the Vichy government, we couldn't have expected that they would help.

WESCHLER: Of course.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was the other government. It was Daladier or the other one.

WESCHLER: And they had canceled his...?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it wasn't Daladier. It was the other one already, I think.

WESCHLER: Was it [Paul] Reynaud, at that point?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I think so. And he wanted to flee also and couldn't. He wanted to flee to Africa. Also for him it wasn't possible anymore.

WESCHLER: But you had an American visa.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. American. We had a French exit visa. The American visa was already overdue; we had to renew it. There wouldn't have been any difficulty; we just had to go to Marseilles. But the French [balked], and we didn't get our exit visa anymore. That was the whole difficulty--not the American visa, but the French exit visa. That's why we had to climb over the--why we couldn't go out at the

border; we had no exit visa. We would have been made prisoner again.

WESCHLER: Okay. Well, then Lion was taken. He was interned again, a second time. We talked somewhat about that, but we might get a little more detail about what happened before the period we talked about. He originally went to Les Milles, and then apparently they began to wait for a train. You might tell us a bit about that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. They were promised a train because they knew.... They heard every day that the Germans came always nearer and nearer. This was absolutely against the agreement--that the Germans wouldn't go to the south. But nobody believed anymore in anything. It was complete chaos, because it was after the armistice. And they were all in the hands of the Germans.

WESCHLER: The train that they had been promised was going to take them to...?

FEUCHTWANGER: ...to Bordeaux, where the French government was. They thought at least it would be far away, because the Germans didn't go south on the side of the Atlantic; they went toward the Mediterranean. They thought that Bordeaux, where the French government is--they had to flee to Bordeaux, you know; later the government went to Vichy, but [at that time they were] still in Bordeaux. They thought they would be interned there, out of the reach of the Germans.

Finally, when they were on their way, all of a sudden, at night, the train stopped. Nobody knew what had happened. It just didn't move anymore. Then they heard that the train had stopped, because on top of the tunnel....

WESCHLER: They were in a tunnel?

FEUCHTWANGER: They were in a tunnel, and the train stopped in the tunnel; they didn't know what had happened. And then they heard that the German army [was about to] march above the tunnel, on the road, on the highway. So then the train went back again.

WESCHLER: So they hadn't made it to Bordeaux. They were sent back.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they hadn't made it to Bordeaux; they were only in the tunnel, on the way to Bordeaux.

WESCHLER: They were sent back, and this time they went back to St. Nicolas.

FEUCHTWANGER: They were sent back. Ja, they went to Nîmes and then to St. Nicolas. Because that had been the only way to escape. Other people said it was just a mistake; it was not the Germans who were there above the tunnel. But whether it was a mistake or not, the fear was there that it could be the Germans. Kantorowicz said that it was a misunderstanding: those were not the Germans who went there; it had been told that the next station could await so many Germans, and that's why they thought that the real Germans were there. Kantorowicz always believed that it was just that the German emigration

were announced in the next station. I think it's no different, anyway; they thought it was the Germans. My husband was sure it was the Germans. It was the night before when this writer committed suicide; I told you about that.

WESCHLER: Yes. That brings Lion back to St. Nicolas, which is where you found him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: We also wanted to record a few other memories that you had of your time in Hyères.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. First we were in Hyères. I was nominated general supervisor. I had everything to do--to supervise, really, and take care of everything. [One day] I got up very early and went out into the backyard, which was a sandpile, and saw children playing with snakes. There were little snakes, and they teased them with sticks; they were very poisonous snakes. I knew those snakes. So I immediately took the children--because I couldn't tell them, "Don't play with snakes"; they would do it anyway, or even more so--so I took them out in the front yard, where we were not allowed to stay because it was on the street. It was actually for our own protection, that all the people shouldn't know that there were emigrants in this garage.

WESCHLER: Because this was during the war, the French would have attacked you as Germans?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Probably, as Germans, ja, ja. Because

there were so many. There were more Germans there than Jews in the camp. As I told you, even from Sanary, there were six Gentiles and four Jews. There was a little nun, who was very--she was German. She was also interned as a German, and she didn't know what happened to her. She was so far away from the world. I told her, "Would you like to take care of the little children and play with them?" She was so happy to be of any use, and she was so grateful to me. The next day I asked for an interview with the commander, the general. I told him that I took the children out of the back and into the front yard against his orders, and about this nun, and he agreed that it was the right thing to do. He hoped that the population wouldn't throw stones at the children and at the nun. Also nothing happened. I think he was more concerned about us than was necessary. I never saw any animosity of the population, except this doctor who came.

WESCHLER: Well, you haven't told those two stories, so maybe you should tell them. We haven't told them on tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes. During this Italian bombardment, when we couldn't go out--did I tell you about that already?

WESCHLER: You told us that there was a bombing one night at Hyères.

FEUCHTWANGER: The next day, a girl who belonged to the Communist group woke me up and told me that one of the comrades was very sick and probably dying. They were

before already in a camp, very high up, and my husband had visited them, because he knew the way they had been treated and he wanted to do something about it. They were all German girls who were nurses in Spain with the Loyalists against Franco. And that's why they were interned--because [the French government] wanted to pacify Franco, probably. Also, they were considered Communists because they were against--they were actually Communists; there's no doubt about it. But that was no reason to intern them in this camp, and they were absolutely starved. They only got dried beans. And then they came in our camp, which for them was heaven, because what we got was the [food] of the soldiers. We got the same food as the soldiers. This was Hyères. Later on in Gurs there was no more like that. But in Hyères we were very well treated. We were the guests of the army, almost, you could say. The general really took care of everything.

Then I went to look at this girl. Her face was terribly swollen, and she was red and gasping for air. They told me she has a pneumothorax, which is an artificial lung. She couldn't get air anymore, because in those days--now I think it's not necessary anymore--it had to be filled from time to time with air. So I hammered at the door, because we were always locked in (outside there were soldiers in a trench) and made terrible noise. So finally a

soldier came to the door and asked what was it--if we don't be quiet they will shoot through the door. But I wasn't afraid; he just wanted to do his duty. So I said, "There is somebody dying here and you have to go to the corporal." He was a very nice man, in charge of the whole thing. It was in the middle of the night. I said, "You have to call him, and he should decide what will happen." So then he did that. He went to the town and brought this poor corporal in the middle of the night. When he saw this girl, he said it was very dangerous and that we had to do something. He called the doctor, the army doctor, and he came. He was very drunk. He began to shout and called us German cows, that we should all be hanged. I let him shout for a while, because I thought maybe his voice will give out. Then finally I said, "Oh, you are mistaken. We are emigrants." Then he said, "Oh, that's the same. You're all German whores"--things like that. "But let's look at the sick girl." Then he realized also how terribly sick she was. He arranged that she was brought with an ambulance to the hospital and was saved. It was the last minute.

So then not long afterwards, when the children had all caught the measles, there was another call from the Communist girls, and they asked me to look at one of the girls: she could not swallow, and she was very red--also

she had high fever. I thought it was tonsillitis, but it looked even worse, because she had fever. And I took her in my room, which I used always for [such purposes], to isolate her, because I suspected it could be diphtheria. I called the doctor, but this was in daytime. He came again and shouted at me and insulted me. I was standing there like a soldier. I always insisted that everybody behave like a soldier. Also when the general came in, everyone had to stand up and stay there, because we had to pacify them. We had to show them our good will; then they would also treat us well. Many resented that; they didn't want to get up when the general came. "But we are the guests of the army here, and we have to do what the others do." So I also was standing up at achtung...

WESCHLER: At attention.

FEUCHTWANGER: At attention. This also pacified the doctor a little bit, and he finally deigned to look at this sick woman. He looked in her throat with a spoon, and she coughed because he was very rough with her. He began to shout again that he didn't want to get her Bazille.

WESCHLER: Her germs?

FEUCHTWANGER: Her germs, ja. But finally he gave her a shot against diphtheria, and she was still lying there when we had to leave for Gurs. She was still very sick, but after we went away, she recovered, I heard later.

In Gurs, this girl from the Communists who was a kind of leader told me afterwards, when the Nazis came--we all knew that the Nazis were there--she said, "We know very well what you did for us. If you in any way want us to help you escape, everybody will be glad to give her passport up and give it to you." But I didn't dare to take the passport. I was moved by this great gesture--I appreciated it--but I thought it's better to go without a Communist passport.

WESCHLER: As a "seventy-year-old." It was better to be seventy than Communist.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. That's true. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Speaking of German whores, you told me a story about....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. In Gurs all of a sudden there was a great commotion, there came a woman--she was arrested also as a German, but she didn't speak a word of German. She was from Alsace-Lorraine, but born German when this was still in German hands. She was so big and fat. She had a very black wig, was all painted absolutely white, with a thick red mouth and thick black eyebrows; she looked like a mask. And she was a madam. She had also a very long dress which trailed in the dust. She was so big and heavy that she had to be supported from both sides by two of her girls, who came with her, because she was the "mother."

All of the girls of her trade came with her to accompany her. It was really a great theater performance.

WESCHLER: Again this aspect of comedy and tragedy throughout the whole thing.

FEUCHTWANGER: She didn't know what happened to her. She didn't understand, you know.

Then also there was another thing which was more serious. There was a woman with a boy who was about eleven years old. She was petit bourgeois. And very upset. One of the soldiers told her that she cannot have her boy with her, that he had to go into a men's camp: he is too big--eleven years--to be with the women. She said she didn't want it. She didn't want to be separated from her boy. It's the only thing which was left; she doesn't know where her husband is. She began to shout. Then the supervisor came, the daughter of the general I told you about, and asked, "What happened?" She wanted to speak with her, but the woman slapped this supervisor in the face. The soldier took the boy, who was hanging onto his mother--he wanted to get him away--and threw him. He didn't intentionally, but the boy fell into the trench which was on the side. I was afraid he had broken his leg, but nothing had happened to him. But of course, now the mother was in great danger to be arrested and sent to jail, which would have been her death. I know: I have seen the room

where they had to sleep on the ground. There was nothing, just water, there. And so I spoke with this supervisor, who was a very tall person with red hair. I told her, "You can imagine what the mother feels when her son, her only child, is taken away from her. I think maybe you should look the other way." She also did that. It was the beginning of our friendship. And nothing happened to them.

But the sister [Irma] of my husband's secretary was very upset. She had married an Englishman, had an English passport. She said she had nothing to do [with being] here, that it was unjust, against the law. She shouted in a very direct and very injurious way about the French, that she doesn't want to work--we had to carry the coffee, the so-called "coffee," you know, the big containers. Always two had to carry them. She always refused to do anything for those damned French, she always said. But the second supervisors were all from Alsace-Lorraine and understood German very well. One told me, because she knew that before I was supervisor in Hyères, that Irma would be arrested and sent into the hole. I said, "You know, I'll tell you something. We are suffering as well as you from her. She's insane. She does the same with us. She shouts at us, and she curses. So you cannot take her seriously." And then they left her alone. But as a whole, this supervisor was very unfriendly. She always had a whistle. When she wanted to tell us

something, she whistled as if we should come like dogs. I was very happy that I could persuade her not to put Irma in the hole. But she never thanked it to me. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay. One last story for today. From here, you eventually escaped, you met up with Lion again, and you were in Marseilles. There was one story in Marseilles that you forgot to tell us, about being on the streetcar.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes. I always had to be the messenger, because I was not known; my pictures were not everywhere. I had to go to the Spanish consulate for a visa, for stamping the visa, and also to the Portuguese consulate. There we had to wait, of course, hours and hours and hours at the stairs. So once I was on my way again, and I always took the streetcar. (It was less obvious than to take a taxi; also it was much cheaper.) I was standing on the back of the streetcar, and all of a sudden somebody touched me from behind on my shoulder. My heart was falling down. I [was sure] I had been arrested now. But it was only the conductor who wanted my money for the fare. Thus there always happened something frightening, but it ended satisfactorily.

WESCHLER: Well, we will insert that at the proper place in the landscape. I think between these two sessions we've pretty much covered the escape out of Europe. At the next session, we'll begin with you arriving in New York, and see what happens then.

AUGUST 19, 1975

WESCHLER: We're going to start today with a few last stories about Sanary that occurred to you over the weekend. You might just tell them.

FEUCHTWANGER: I have just remembered one big party which was at [Antonia] Valentin's. She was the wife of Luchaire, the literary attaché, the cultural attaché of the French government. She was a very good writer, and she asked my husband what she should write, and then he gave her the advice to write a biography about Goya. He himself had not yet the intention to write the Goya novel so soon. Anyway she wrote it and had quite a success, also in America, I think, where it was even a best seller for a while. But this was not what I wanted to tell you; it was more interesting to speak about the people he invited. There was also Count Sforza, and the very famous and very great Italian philosopher [Gaetano] Salvemini. Salvemini was very liberal and rather aggressive, although he looked very pale and you would think that at any moment he would die. But when he began to discuss, he became alive. He was very aggressive against Sforza, although they were good friends. And Sforza was not a man of short words: he attacked him, too. And when both became very angry, they all of a sudden fell back into their native Italian, and nobody understood it but my

husband and I. Usually they were very polite and wouldn't have done it, but they just forgot this in their anger.

WESCHLER: Were they both emigrés from Fascist Italy?

FEUCHTWANGER: They both, ja, of course. Salvemini even before Sforza. Salvemini was a voluntary exile, and Sforza left because he wouldn't work with Mussolini. Both were voluntary, but with Salvemini it was much earlier, this solution.

And then there was another party also at Valentin's where she invited the Huxleys. Huxley was sitting in a corner on a chair, and the young people were there all sitting around him on the floor. He spoke to them, and he thought that anyway they wouldn't understand what he had to say. He was a little snobbish. So he began to discuss the most banal things, but the young people just looked up at him. I remember only that he said, "It is extraordinary." That's the only thing I remember: he repeated that every minute, this word. And Valentin, at the end she got up and said, "I can't stand it anymore." She told it very slowly and lowly, and she thought he wouldn't understand it, but I'm sure he heard it. We had another approach to the youth: we thought nothing is good enough for the youth. But he was more haughty and more intellectual and thought the young people wouldn't understand anyway what he has to say. Because I wouldn't say that he was always banal; he was

only banal when he was with young people.

WESCHLER: Would you say that was typical of the English?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was typical Huxley, I think. I think in a way he was an old aristocrat, from this old scientific family, and also he knew many of the same kind in France. But also he didn't look it because he was very simply dressed and lived very simply, and he had always young people around him and didn't care about their wealth or where they come from. In this way he was not a snob; he was more a spiritual snob, that he thought they wouldn't understand it anyway.

WESCHLER: Was he like that all his life that you knew him-- here in Los Angeles, also?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, here in Los Angeles he was almost blind, and it was more.... What also was astonishing for me, but now I understand it better, was that he worked a lot for the movies. He made plots for the movies, and that was really astonishing from somebody who was in the other ways so haughty. But it was well paid, and they liked also his type; they thought when he is on the staff, there would be at least good English. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Why do you say it's astonishing to you?

FEUCHTWANGER: You know, I was so European I couldn't understand that anybody who is somebody would work for the movies in those days. Now, since I am here, I know that

are very good movies, and that movies are also a kind of art. But I didn't know that beforehand. Because we in Europe had once in a while very good movies, but very rare, and those who came from America usually were mostly comedies. And we had no idea what movies really can be. Except the Russian movies: they had the greatest impression on me.

WESCHLER: Well, we'll talk about that in more detail when we get to the film world here. [pause in tape]

Okay. On the last session we ended very excitingly, with you in New York, being let out of the ship after having been delayed for a while, and Lion being at the dockside. For the next several months you were going to be in New York. Perhaps you have some stories that you'd like to tell about things that happened in New York.

FEUCHTWANGER: The reception was really astonishing. All the newspapers had headlines about our arrival and escape from concentration camp and so. With one exception. That was the Time magazine. This was amazing because Time magazine invited us for a performance of a film, a documentary. They had the possibility to show it also to friends; it has been shown to them for the critic, so they invited us to this very exclusive showing. So we thought they would be interested in my husband. But then there came a terrible attack on my husband in the magazine [November

11, 1940]. We couldn't explain it until somebody said this man is known [to have] attacked also other immigrants so much. Everybody thought maybe he was once a Communist in his youth.

WESCHLER: What kind of attack was it, first of all?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was very vicious, that the Americans shouldn't have accepted him, that he is a Communist, and things like that. He laid great importance to his visit to Russia and things like that.

WESCHLER: And who was the man who had written it?

FEUCHTWANGER: This man [with a last name of Schlamm] was for a short time the publisher of the Weltbühne in Paris, when it was transferred from Berlin to Paris. For a very short time he was the publisher there, and then he was dismissed because they were not satisfied with his work. We didn't know his name; neither had we seen him anywhere. My husband had never heard about him. We lived in Sanary, and we got the Weltbühne, of course, to read it. (My husband also was a collaborator, but he never had taken any salary because he knew that other people needed it more; he did it only to help them.) We read his name on the masthead, and that was all. He couldn't understand this terrible enmity of this man. And then he heard later that this man imagined that my husband was the reason that he had been dismissed. But in this magazine he wrote against my husband.

And my husband didn't know anything about it. He was just dismissed because they were not satisfied. Maybe he only imagined it, that my husband was the reason, but he believed that, and that is the whole truth, sometimes. And also it has been found later that he was a pathological case. After the war he went to Germany and worked for a reactionary newspaper. And also there he wasn't long working; also in Germany they realized that he was a pathological man. But that didn't help to know afterwards. When he wrote this article.... I think it is probably the principle of the magazine or the press as a whole not to refuse an article which has been ordered.

WESCHLER: So Time magazine had ordered a welcoming article.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, probably. I think so.

WESCHLER: And instead, they got this article.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was so bad that one man who was a very great benefactor of the emigrants, [Frank] Kingdon, said, "We really shouldn't have brought him in." Because the publicity was so great. He was a friend of Mrs. Roosevelt and he said, "Maybe we really shouldn't have let him into America."

WESCHLER: And it's possible that he had once been a Communist, and that was why he....

FEUCHTWANGER: That was the explanation of many. That happened so often, that young people who in the twenties were idealistic

and so on, thought that communism is the only way to help the world.... Everything was in disarray--the money, inflation and all those things--and the Depression in America: many people also in America thought maybe communism would help then. When my husband was the first time in America, he also made the experience that some of the big manufacturers and so were very doubtful during the Depression in the thirties--it was in '32, before Roosevelt came to power. They also said that it's possible that the whole world becomes communist someday. Many of those people who were not for communism spoke like that in America. And when my husband came back, he said he found the depression of the mind worse than the economical depression in America. And also much more depressive than Europe itself. In America the differences are always so great: the jump from the one to--like the fifties and the sixties, such a great difference in the approach to life.

WESCHLER: Did this article in Time magazine ever come back to haunt Lion?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I think it has been used very much when my husband wanted to become his citizenship.

WESCHLER: In the hearings.

FEUCHTWANGER: All the hearings. You know, everything, every little thing: I remember that even a poem he made in the First World War, which was for America, more or less,

because it was against the war and against militarism, that this was always reproached to him that he wrote an anti-fascistic poem. "Premature antifascistic," they called it during the investigation. You cannot be premature antifascistic: you should be always antifascistic. [laughter]

WESCHLER: How did Lion react to the article in Time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, for the moment he was terrible disappointed that somebody who was himself an emigrant could do such a thing. He was more disappointed for this than for the whole possibility it could have for him or damage it would be for him. Because he forgot very fast what happened and what was done. He looked always more to the future, to what happened later, and not back. So he didn't get gray hair from that.

WESCHLER: Did he have any other experiences about America and its repugnance to communism?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, there was another man who was a very important man, Mr. [Louis] Nizer, the famous lawyer, who in those days wrote a book, Thinking on Your Feet. We didn't quite understand the words, the title, and my husband asked him what it means. Everybody knows, of course, that it means to be present, very present of mind. And he explained it to us very well. Then he also gave a big party for us, where he invited everybody who was somebody. He was a great admirer of my husband's work.

But then, when my husband, in discussions or so, spoke about his trip to Russia and the impressions he had from what change in Russia was--that not everybody was rich, what maybe people would expect from communism, but everybody was poor, and so it was not a great difference, and he found that it was easier for the poor to know that the others are also poor--Mr. Nizer didn't like this point of view, and the friendship ended very soon. Mr. Nizer also wrote my husband some disappointing letters, but he never attacked him openly. They just were in the other camp.

WESCHLER: Did Lion find it difficult to cope with this part of America, this severe anticommunism which certainly wasn't the case in....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. He was disappointed, because from Europe he admired America so much. Mostly because through the whole history of America went this tendency against being pushed around by kings or things like that, and the wish for liberty and also the freedom of speech and all those things. And then he saw that many things, beautiful in principle, are not always executed beautifully by people. And so in a way he was disappointed. But still there was Roosevelt there, and he was a great admirer of Roosevelt. So in the beginning it was not so bad. Only when he heard that Roosevelt, and most of all his wife, wanted to help the emigrants and the people who have been in terrible

danger by the Nazis, and that they didn't help enough....

And also Mrs. Roosevelt spoke about it later when Mr.

[Joseph] Lash wrote his book Eleanor and Franklin: he mentions also her correspondence with me, and she says there that she always found there is not enough done for the people who were so terrible persecuted. She said it was mostly Mr. Hull, who was then secretary of state, and the lower people even more, the lower officials who very often boycotted what has been planned. And so were also the consuls in Europe, the American consuls in Europe: they had also this kind of renommé that they had people standing in line for days and days, not helping them, not wanting to help. For instance, it was known that the consul general in [Marseilles] said, "We don't like those emigrants; they are only damaging our good relations with the Vichy government." So this was the tendency in this way, and this was very much against the intentions of Roosevelt. Most of all--she was unsatisfied with him because she thought he should have been more energetic to [get] those to go through. But he probably was more afraid of other political things which meant war and things like that.

WESCHLER: Okay. I believe you had another party that you wanted to talk about which you went to in New York, at the house of Jules Romains.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was Robert Nathan who gave a big

party. There were all the literary giants of New York. I was only sorry that I never understand very well the names when I'm introduced to people. I didn't dare to ask again or, what I do sometimes now, ask them, "How do you spell your name?" (so I would understand at least who the people are). So I missed probably a great deal of people who were interesting to know, just because I couldn't understand their name.

WESCHLER: And you said also there was a party at Jules Romain's house?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Jules Romain had a house on top of the hill of the hotel, the penthouse. He gave a big party for the Dutch writer Maeterlinck and my husband. This was really very sensational. Then a man who had been introduced to us with the name of Mr. Hitler. We were taken aback. Then we asked, "But what does this man do here?" Somebody told me this man is an Irishman. He is really a nephew of Hitler--somebody of Hitler's family emigrated to Ireland--and he couldn't speak a word of German and was a great enemy of the Nazis. I think he was a newspaperman. (I'm not sure but I think.) He couldn't have been there otherwise. And then, of course, the newspaper always wanted a scoop: he wanted us all together on a photo in the newspapers. But I told my husband, "Don't go in this picture." And there was only Maeterlinck and his beautiful young wife, and Jules Romain and

his beautiful wife, and Mr. Hitler. We were not in the picture.

WESCHLER: But it did turn out that this man was an anti-Nazi.

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely, of course. Because Jules Romaines fled from the Nazis. He was the president of the PEN Club and did all he could for the emigrants. That is why he was in danger himself when the Nazis came. His wife [Lise Dreyfus] was the daughter of a very famous banker, a very great banker in France. They could live very well because they had money everywhere as bankers. And he was also--everywhere he was translated in all the languages. He wrote one series which is famous, Men of Good Will [Les Hommes de Bonne Volonté], and then Doctor Knock, which was a comedy which was very successful. He was not a very liberal man, but he was very much against the Nazis and helped everybody he could. And then, all of a sudden, I saw Kurt Weill standing there, too.

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WESCHLER: Kurt Weill is the subject of this story.

FEUCHTWANGER: And we were both very pleased to meet each other. I asked him, "Is your wife here, too?" He said, "Of course, she is standing right beside you." And I was looking, and this was a very attractive blond, and then I realized it was Lotte Lenya. In Germany she was rather brunette. But she looked very good in blond hair. [laughter] We were all very happy to meet each other. Safe, in America.

WESCHLER: Before you had told me an interesting story about Hitler's name.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Hitler's real last name, that what everybody knows, that was Schicklgruber. There was a friend of the family who was a kind of benefactor because they were very poor; he was a little official or so, and didn't make enough money--there were lots of children, I think. Then, Hitler, formerly Schicklgruber, born Schicklgruber, found his name not very attractive and also difficult to pronounce even for German, so he changed his name into the name of the benefactor of the family. And some people even said that probably Mr. Hitler--whose name is Yiddish and comes from Hutler, which is a German name meaning somebody who makes Hute, hats (and Hitler is the Yiddish pronunciation)--since he helped the

family, then some people said he probably had an affair with Mrs. Schicklgruber, and that's where the son came out. But we were very much against this idea, that he would be a half-Jew. And also people said it is not probably, that this man was too old to have children and probably he wanted--not everybody who wants to have somebody has also to sleep....

[laughter] Heinrich Mann, who had a great sense of humor, he never called him Hitler; he always said "Mr. Schicklgruber." But it didn't help.

WESCHLER: Well, are there any other immediate stories you can think of about your time in New York? You were only there for a few months.

FEUCHTWANGER: I was there a very short time. My husband stayed on because he had a long treatment at the dentist, probably because of the stay in the concentration camp. I wanted to go skiing, because I could only ski before we settled somewhere and I would have to make a house for my husband. So that was the only time, between New York and settling, and I left New York earlier to go to Yosemite for skiing. I had my fiftieth birthday there. My husband wanted me to stay in New York for my fiftieth birthday, but I thought we can see each other the whole year, and just the birthday is not so great, to make such great fuss about. So I was fifty in the middle of the snow; high on the mountains, I got a telegram from my husband. [laughter]

WESCHLER: So, that would have been in January 1941.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But then we went to immigrate.

WESCHLER: Now, what had happened? You did not have an immigration visa; you just had an emergency visa?

FEUCHTWANGER: We had only an emergency visa. That means that we could only stay as long as we were in danger of Hitler and then we had to go back. When we wanted to be citizens, we had to immigrate. My husband prepared all that in New York with his lawyer, and he said the only possibility to immigrate is now either from Canada or from Mexico. He said the quota of immigration from Canada has gone out--we had to wait until the quota has been filled--but from Mexico there may be still some room. It's better to go to Mexico. So we went to Nogales. My husband went directly from New York to Nogales, and I came from Yosemite. We met each other after New York the first time again in Nogales. Everybody told us we have probably to stay for a month there on account of the waiting list. Nogales is a little town on the border of Arizona and Mexico. Half of the little town is American, and only on the other side of a road begins the Mexican part of Nogales. And there is the American consul, because he had to be on Mexican ground. There then we had to go--we lived in the hotel in America, and had to go to the consulate. When we had to introduce ourselves, we thought it would take a long time. But we didn't have to wait or so--immediately we were brought into

the office, and there the American consul general said that he's a great admirer of my husband, he is so happy to meet him. This thing happened exactly in Nogales. He said he wanted us for dinner, to show us all the books of my husband in his house, and he told his aides, "You prepare the case of Feuchtwanger so they can today have their immigration visa." We were invited--then he said it's better we should come to lunch. He called his wife, said to prepare lunch because tonight maybe we make something else. He asked other people who were also there, very rich English people who wanted to immigrate to America, told them that my husband is there. And they together made a big fiesta at a dude ranch, with mariachi musicians sitting on the ground with big hats and every ornament they could find in Mexico. There was dancing and a barbecue and a fantastic fiesta which I had never seen before. The whole population came to look at us, and it was very beautiful. Later on, many years afterward, maybe twenty-five years afterward, something happened here then. Finally we got our visa and I could go back skiing. My husband went....

WESCHLER: What happened twenty-five years afterwards?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, would you like to know? But this is a long story. It has to do with the Schoenbergs.

WESCHLER: Well, we better have it now.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. When the Schoenbergs--it's a very funny

story. The Schoenbergs had three children. One [Nuria] married [Luigi] Nono, the famous Italian composer, and lives with him in Venice, Italy. And the two sons live here. The younger son [Lawrence] wanted to marry a Catholic girl [Jill Whittle] whose father [Alfred Whittle] is an architect here in Pacific Palisades. They fell in love, and I got an invitation for the wedding and for their reception afterwards. Then I called Mrs. Schoenberg, who was a good friend, and said, "You know, I better come only to the reception and not to the church. I think I wouldn't fit in that." She said, "Oh, you do what you want." The next day she calls me again and says, "No, you have to come to the church, too, because my son said you bring some color into it." [laughter] So I went there, and I wanted to bring some color in it, so I had even a blue, a light blue dress--no, not light blue, medium blue. Usually I wear black, but to make the color true.... I was there during the service, which was something like a high mass, and afterwards there was a reception at her parents' also in Pacific Palisades. I came very early to the reception to find a parking place, which is always a problem. When I went to the house, there was a young man standing there to receive the guests; he was the son of the house. Immediately when I came in, he kissed me and said, "Who are you?" I told him my name. Then he said,

"But I know you. I know you from a long time. I was a little boy." And then he told me that he was in Nogales with his parents, and he was allowed to take a peek into this fiesta where I was, and he was only astonished that I didn't dance--everybody danced except my husband and I. He remembered me, and he knew even what dress I had on: I had a white dress with white pants, and it was so new to him. And that was that, that he knew me such a long time. But it was very funny.

But when I tell one side, I have also to tell the other side. The next, the oldest son of Schoenbergs [Ronald] married a Jewish girl, the daughter of the composer Eric Zeisl [Barbara]. And there was a Jewish wedding in the house of Zeisl, and the whole thing was again the same, except this was Jewish and the other was Catholic. The same people were there. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay. We've got you on what has to be one of the shortest immigration stays in Mexico.

FEUCHTWANGER: Probably, yes. We were even a little sorry, because we liked it very much; it's very beautiful in Nogales. But I went directly again to skiing.

WESCHLER: Nothing ever gets in the way of your skiing.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but also I had the reservations there, you know, I had a room there for a while. And my husband also had to go to Tucson for some legal work for his immigration,

because his New York lawyers made some mistakes. It was not allowed that a New York lawyer represents somebody in Mexico. It should be somebody who is from Mexico or from the border, so then he had to have from Los Angeles, I think, a lawyer. So that has to be fixed there. Then he went to Los Angeles because we rented a house from a friend of ours, Miss Eva Herrmann, who lives now in Santa Barbara; she went skiing then, so we were in her house during that time.

WESCHLER: So that brings you to Los Angeles. Why did you choose to come to Los Angeles?

FEUCHTWANGER: Mostly for the climate, I think. It was always what--we were open-air people, liked to be all the year in the sun and in the open air. We always ate our meals outside in the garden, and we liked mostly the ocean, to live on the ocean. We were born in the Alps, and we liked the Alps, too, but for us the ocean was really a great experience. When we saw the first time the ocean, and bathed the first time in the Pacific, that was something. That's why we lived also first in Sanary on the Riviera, and here it is much similar--except that Sanary is a little more colorful. The Mediterranean is bluer and the sunsets are redder, but the climate is about the same. In summer it's a little warmer, and in winter it's much colder than here. Here it is more even. And I like California even

more because it is, what I say, Thursday; the Mediterranean is always Sunday. That means that here you feel at home in the landscape; it's not that you always are supposed to admire it all the time, how beautiful the ocean is and things like that, and the barques and the colored veils of the sailboats and things like that. Here you live with the ocean and with nature; it's a part of your life.

WESCHLER: It's a more mundane kind of beauty, in a way.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely, and also the people are more international on the Riviera, and it's more fashionable, while here you can live like you want. So we lived; we were very happy here.

WESCHLER: In Sanary, you had been one of the first members of what became a very large colony.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and all the people, mostly the emigrant people from Sanary, came here. Some went to New York, but also those people who went to New York usually were for a time here, lived for a time here. Except Kantorowicz: I think he didn't come here. But most of the other people-- [Hermann] Kesten, who lived in New York--they all were here for a while. And many worked also for the movies.

WESCHLER: We'll talk next time in more detail about the colony. But was that one reason you chose to come here, because the colony was here already?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was not the colony; it was only the

landscape and the weather, the climate, I would say.

WESCHLER: Okay. Now I wanted to go back a little bit and talk about what Lion was writing during this period. Certainly one of the things he wrote was his book called The Devil in France [Der Teufel in Frankreich]. Did he write that immediately on the boat and in New York?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he wrote it only in New York. He didn't prepare it before. He wrote it in New York because the publisher wanted him to do it. When he told him our adventures and so, he found he should write it down, and he also helped translate it. He was so intrigued about it, he didn't leave my husband alone in the hotel so he would only write that. My husband was a little reticent because he couldn't write the real story; the rescue action was not finished yet, and he didn't want to give away how they came over or who did most of the things, not to endanger anything. And that's why he also left out many things which were....

WESCHLER: Well, notably, as I was looking at that book-- in the table of contents, there are four parts listed, but the last part is left out. It says, "This cannot be included." Did he in fact write a last section?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he never wrote it. It's funny he never wanted--not like, for instance, Thomas Mann, who began the Krull novel in his youth as a short story and ended it as a

big novel, I think, thirty years afterwards. Lion never wanted to go back, also not in what he had written. What was written and finished and published, it was over. He wanted to look forward.

WESCHLER: But do notes exist from that fourth section?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, the only thing is what I wrote about it. Many times people asked me to [speak about] it, for instance, for helping in benefits. I had been asked to help a student here who came from Mexico and wasn't able to stay here any longer. He had to go back to Mexico, and he had not the money to finish. He wanted to be a doctor. In those days--that was about fifteen years ago--they didn't have yet the good universities in Mexico, and he wanted to be a good doctor and finish his study here. I have been asked to [tell the story] at a gathering so he would get more money so he can stay here. He didn't get a scholarship or something what he needed. So I have been asked to tell them the episode of our rescue from the concentration camp. Things like that--those things have happened several times. Once also, at the Temple Isaiah, I spoke for some beneficial thing ("The Righteous People," Gentiles who helped Jews and were in need) and always, everybody wants me to speak about this episode.

WESCHLER: As we did a few sessions ago.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: But what was the name of the publisher who wanted him to get The Devil in France written?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was Mr. Ben Huebsch, of the Viking Press. That was the only publisher my husband had in America in those days. He came to see us also in Europe, and he said always the best thing of New York is the nearness of Europe.

WESCHLER: Okay. The other book that was being written around this time was the novel Die Brüder Lautensack.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was about the soothsayer, about Hitler's soothsayer. But his name was not Lautensack; his name was [Erik] Hanussen. He's still known for that. He was a Hungarian; I think he was from Austria when it was still Austrian. And he lived in Berlin. I saw him once in Munich. I got a free invitation, a free ticket, and I saw him there. He displeased me very much.

WESCHLER: What was he like?

FEUCHTWANGER: I found him so rough and brutal looking. Also his speaking, his voice and everything, sounded to me so brutal. He was a tall man, blond and blue-eyed, but he was a Jew, and nobody knew that. Probably Hitler knew it; probably because he had so screwed ideas about the Jews, he imagined that this was something supernatural or so. He had him a long time, and also this Hanussen had been

successful in some of his prognostics. Of course, it could also be that he knew or found out. But I heard not long ago a lecture about these supernatural things, and this man, who was not absolutely a partisan of it, but he said that many of these soothsayers--he spoke even about Houdini, who said he had left something for his wife and only his wife would know when he gives the message--he said that nobody knew, that even scientists couldn't explain certain things. He said that he thinks, and many scientists also think, that there must have been a kind of gift that they could soothsay. But that didn't happen very often, and they had to do it to make money, so they usually faked the whole thing. More often they faked than they were honest. Sometimes they become to believe in themselves even.

WESCHLER: What happened to Hitler's...?

FEUCHTWANGER: To Hanussen? It seems that he knew too much. He led a grandiose life in Berlin, with a fantastic house and women and all those things around. He expected the leader in his house. But it seems that Hitler imagined, or somebody told him, that he knew too much and that he would be dangerous, so he had him murdered in a forest near Berlin.

WESCHLER: And this in turn became a theme for Lion's book?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, this was the theme for my husband. I

think it has two faults, and that's why I didn't appreciate this book so much. First, that Hanussen is not a Jew in the book. My husband thought in those days it would have been a prejudice against the Jews, because one person and one book can often make the opinion of the whole world when the book goes around, when they don't see what other things happened at the same time. But I found it would have been better when he was the Jew--Hanussen. He really was. I can understand Lion's reason, but from an artistic point of view, I didn't think it was good to make him a non-Jew. And the other thing was that the counterpart of him, who was Jewish, was too weak. He was too idealistic and too pacifistic. So the counterpart was not strong enough against him. But the Nazis were so good portrayed. For instance, Bertolt Brecht found this one of the best books Feuchtwanger has ever written, because he found the Nazis so excellent. The brother of Hanussen is a young Nazi, brutal and cruel and sly and also half-homosexual or something like that. I don't remember; I haven't read the book in very long time. He was himself not homosexual, but he had attracted homosexuals, I think. And also Hitler was in a way--people thought he's a homosexual. And Brecht found the way my husband treated those people without judging them, only showing them--he found this a great satire. And he found this book absolutely great and worthwhile.

WESCHLER: But today it isn't one of the major books in the corpus.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. But still people are interested again because now people are coming back to this time again, and it helps for many people to understand also those times.

AUGUST 22, 1975

WESCHLER: Okay, today we're going to start with some stories way back in Munich which have just occurred to you over the weekend, or over the week, anyway. Then we'll have a couple more stories about New York, and then we'll quickly come back to Los Angeles. I will just read from some notes you gave me, give you some clue words that will help you remember what you wanted to say about Munich. The first thing was The Eleven Hangmen.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was something I think Wedekind founded, and also Thomas Mann was part of it. It was kind of like the Grand Guignol in Paris, very bloody and very sarcastic and gruesome, but it was all good fun. But the placards everywhere looked also so gruesome with their red hangmen, you know, with a big sword; and it was great sensation in Munich. It was only in a small wine restaurant.

WESCHLER: What was it called?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was called The Eleven Hangmen. Elf

Scharfrichter. There is no real translation for it, you know; verbally they were the men with the sharp sword, or the axe.

WESCHLER: What was Mann's contribution to it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, I think he wrote poems and recited them. Or little novels. He also had lessons in reciting and so. He was a very good speaker. It was mostly--it was partly to earn money, but not always. It didn't bring that much money, I think, but it was also great fun for everybody. But Wedekind, who founded it, also hated it as demeaning.

WESCHLER: What kind of audience was there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Mostly artists and Bohemians who didn't have much money, but it was a very faithful audience. From abroad there came lots of people--I was not yet in the age to go in there; I was still a child, a young teenager. I only saw always those placards. They intrigued me very much. And also the placard of Mary Irber. She was a disease, it was called; she was the speaker of the ballads, sentimental or gruesome or so, and a singer. She looked absolutely like a vamp, they called it in those days. She was tall and black-haired with very white skin, and always clad in very clinging black robes with long trains. Once she went also--I don't think it was for advertising or so; they just all really lived this life, also in real life--to show her perversity, she trained a ball and chain on her

foot through the Ludwigstrasse. She walked there with her friend who was an architect, and he was also looking as she looked, and he had a slight limp. You had to think about Mephistopheles in Goethe's Faust. Later on he became a very well known architect and writer and probably lost all this kind of fantasies. But for my childhood, it was really something special and new and unusual.

WESCHLER: Do you remember the architect's name?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I don't remember it. But I know that I read later about him. He was in Japan, as a matter of fact; that is all I know.

WESCHLER: And what about Rilke?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, the same street was the great ornamental street which led from, let's say, the Torggelstube, or the center of the city, to Schwabing. It was the only thoroughfare there with beautiful buildings and the great State Library and the university. Everything was on this street, and everybody walked there. The tram went through, the streetcar, but everybody walked. And there were no shops or so. And then you could see Rainer Maria Rilke going very solemnly with white gloves, and in his company was the painter [Lou Albert-]Lasard. She had red hair, and she was the one who limped in this case; she looked like the Mephistopheles in the performance of Reinhardt, who

made a new kind of staging of Faust where Mephistopheles has no beard or so, but was red-haired (it was a famous actor, Albert Steinrück, who played this part). So she looked like the Mephistopheles of our time.*

WESCHLER: Was Rilke well known in the city? Did people recognize him on the street?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, only the artists or the actors or people who had to do something with literature and art. But not the people. The people only looked at the beer halls.

[laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay, and then you have a story about Bruno Frank.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ah, Bruno Frank, yes. Bruno Frank was from a wealthy family in Stuttgart. His father was a banker, and they were a very cultured family, and he himself was cultured. But he had one vice: he was a gambler. Usually he won, but sometimes he didn't. And then, when he was out of money, he always came to my husband, who didn't-- who struggled very much. But Lion had also once a big advance from a publisher, and when Bruno Frank came to him to lend the money, Lion gave it to him. Then he paid it back much later than he had promised, so it was a great loss for my husband, who had to pay the interest to it. Frank maybe had recognized that, but he hadn't enough money in those days; so he just gave him an old suit which was much

*In her notes, Mrs. Feuchtwanger also records that she met Lou Albert-Lasard again later in the concentration camp at Gurs, and that prior to that, Albert-Lasard had made a sketch of Lion in Sanary.

too big for my husband. But even with the expenses of fitting it, it was still a boon because it was such beautiful material, although the pattern and the color were very unusual and didn't very much fit my husband. [laughter]

WESCHLER: You also wanted to say a couple of words about art nouveau in Munich at that time.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I wanted to tell you about these kinds of placards and advertisements. There were, like in Paris--"kiosks," they were called--very thick columns standing around on the streets, and around them were those placards and advertisements, also sometimes paintings or drawings. They were very often made by great artists like [Ferdinand von] Reznicek and some more which I don't remember anymore. But anyway it was this kind of art nouveau first. Later Reznicek became very elegant, more in the art of Moulin Rouge. But in those days, it was like also the placard about Mary Irber, which was in art nouveau. I didn't like it in the beginning, but it was a great progress from the art which has been applied in Munich in those days which was called the gruenderjahre. This was a kind of new rich, new wealth, after the Germans won the war of '71 against France. This was a very bad style in every way. And then came this art nouveau, which was in a way much more simple and less ornamental. Although I didn't like it in those days, I saw in an exhibition some years ago, in

Pasadena, all the placards which have been made by the great artists. And I must say, it was something which was really an art achievement. I recognized it so much later. I didn't even want to go; I said, "Oh, I have seen that in my youth, and I didn't like it." But it's absolutely-- it has a great élan, and also it's--maybe it was influenced by the French painters, but it was something special in Munich.

WESCHLER: Well, you also have some stories about New York that you wanted to tell us. Maybe we should move on to those. In particular, you were going to talk a little bit about Sascha Rubinstein and some experiences related to him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, there came a man to our hotel who wanted to see Lion, a young man still, and he introduced himself as Sascha Rubinstein. He told Lion that he wouldn't be what he is now, a great financier, hadn't he read in his youth the novel of my husband Jud Süß. He wanted to emulate this man; that was his only ambition. In those days he was very powerful because he made so much money. He told me how he made his money: he heard about so many people in Germany who have been killed or imprisoned by the Nazis, and the money which they had made with trade in other countries was lost because whole families were killed. So he found sometimes their heirs or more remote heirs, and he went

to them and said, "We know that there is a lot of money in foreign banks and nobody ever asks about this money because the nearest relatives are dead. But if I find something, would you share with me what I could find?" Of course everybody was very glad to get this money which has been lost, and nobody even knew about it. So he was a kind of detective of lost money. He found a lot, enormous sums in banks in Switzerland and everywhere, and with the sharing he became such a rich man. Not only was he rich but he was also very powerful, because he wanted to use this money like Jud Süß, for power. He was, of course, against the Nazis, but he was very much also for France where he lived a long time (he was raised in Switzerland, the French part of Switzerland), and he wanted to help the French. He was also a great admirer of De Gaulle--no, to the contrary, he was not; he was an admirer of the late French politician, of [Edouard] Herriot, who was many times prime minister. His niece lived in New York. She was Geneviève Tabouis, also a newspaper-woman. She looked like a marquise--an old lady, very tiny, and very elegant, very aristocratic and very gentle. And Rubinstein supported her and also the whole Free French movement. It was, I could say, his child. He supported all that he could with this money. There was Emile Buré--he was a great newspaperman, a democratic newspaperman in France--and also Pierre Cot, who was minister of aviation

in France until Hitler came. Pierre Cot was very liberal and was on the side of the Loyalists in Spain. And there was always a great debate in the parliament, the French parliament, about helping either one, or which one, Franco or the Loyalists. Of course it was always divided like in politics. And he was one of the liberal democrats. He tried to get the Loyalists some planes. I remember a discussion in Parliament when somebody asked him about this new type of plane, the Dewoitine. "Where is the Dewoitine?" it has been asked. And he answered, "The Dewoitine is in its hangar." But it wasn't in its hangar; it was in Spain. I remember this so very much, that he was lying so coolly. He could get away with it because just nobody doubted his word. He had too much assertiveness. And we met him also in the company of Sascha Rubinstein.

Rubinstein had a big house on Fifth Avenue, on the Central Park, one of the greatest private houses. I think it was the only private house where the whole house belonged to one person. His mother lived very high up, and he had his receiving rooms down, way down, and he gave big receptions there. There we met, for instance, the son of the prime minister--also he was I think chancellor from Germany--Stresemann, the son and his wife. I don't remember which son it was, because one son, in the meantime, visited me here, and he didn't remember, so it must have been the

other son. One [Wolfgang] is a musician, and he invited me in Berlin, when I was in Berlin, to the new music center, the Philharmonic. The other [Joachim] is, I think, a financier in New York. The one who visited me was the one from New York. But anyway they were there also, and then Dorothy Thompson was always there, and Maurice Maeterlinck, the Dutch writer, and and Austrian archduke, a Hapsburg.

WESCHLER: I wanted to ask you, before we get to some of the other people, about the Free French Movement. First of all, what were they doing in New York?

FEUCHTWANGER: They wanted to have influence after the war in the French government.

WESCHLER: And was the government in exile in New York or were they in London?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think the government was in London, because it was--reluctantly De Gaulle was accepted by Churchill, who hated him and called him always the "Maid of Orleans." Churchill said always he is a kind of "ham." Because he was very proud and self-confident. But he was the one who could have saved France if they would have listened to him. He said, "This line, the Maginot Line, is old-fashioned and we have to have tanks." But they wouldn't listen to him. He was the only French general who was for the tanks. And he was also the only one who escaped to England. The others all made their peace with Germany.

WESCHLER: What was the relation of the Free French Movement

in New York to the...?

FEUCHTWANGER: In New York, they were against De Gaulle, and I think that was a great mistake in those days. Because De Gaulle was, as it was shown later, the only one who could rally all France around him after the war. But those were very democratic people, and they called him a fascist, or dictator, you know, because he had this personality. He didn't want to hear anybody else; he knew exactly what he wanted, De Gaulle. He was one of the greatest men, but also in a way he was, later on he was--he lived too long maybe, you could say. At least his political life was too long. But in those days he was the only one, I think, who could do something for France.

WESCHLER: Did these Free French in New York have any influence on the American government?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I think so. I'm afraid so. Because they had the greatest influence on Roosevelt. I think the whole resistance against De Gaulle came from this Free French movement. Although I admired all those people very much--they were great patriots, and I admired of course also their attitude as a whole as liberals--I found that in those days, against Hitler, with the liberal movement you couldn't do very much. I think we needed somebody who is as much a dictator as Hitler was. Like Stalin was and De Gaulle was. He had two dictators as enemies. America was not an enemy. They came too late, I would say. Decisive was the Stalin-grad battle, which was in Russia. After that it was almost just

going down with the Nazis. And De Gaulle recognized that. He was also very much for the Russians in those times. Not that he liked Communists or the Russians, but he thought it's the only way how to beat Hitler.

WESCHLER: Well, getting back to Maurice Maeterlinck. You were going to tell some stories about him.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a very gentle man and a great writer. We loved and admired him very much. When he saw me the first time, I had a cape--an opera cape, he called it. Outside black velvet and inside white velvet, and when you moved you could see the inside; also you could reverse it and have it to be worn outside white and inside black. When he saw me the first time he called me "Monna Vanna," because that is the title of one of his plays about a Lady Godiva who rode out on a horse only covered by her hair to save the city. When he called me Monna Vanna, I said, "But I have more underneath than Monna Vanna."

WESCHLER: More than just that cape.

FEUCHTWANGER: When I also was always listening to the discussions they had with each other, all the people who were sitting there.... Dorothy Thompson was very authoritative and everybody listened to her. She had a big discussion with young Stresemann about the danger of Hitler. The young people were always less afraid of him. And she realized the real great danger. Then I heard also--one evening, it was Christmas evening, we were at the house of Pierre

Cot, the minister of aviation, and there was also Maeterlinck and the [exiled] archduke of Austria, Franz Joseph (he was a political writer). I wanted to listen to those writers, what they have to tell each other, but I only heard them speaking about the honorarium from the publishers; it was very disappointing.

WESCHLER: I'm just going to read some other notes you had. You mentioned the pianist [Artur] Rubinstein?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. On New Year's Eve, Sascha Rubinstein invited everybody who was somebody into the night club, El Morocco, and we met the pianist.

WESCHLER: Were the pianist and Sascha related?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all; they didn't even know each other. Also the pianist, I think, is Polish, and Rubinstein was a Russian. But he invited everybody who had a name. Nobody knew exactly what he was; they only knew that he was rich and powerful. And when he came in the restaurant, all the maitre d's and the headwaiters and so came running, and he had always the best table. It was disgusting for me. [laughter] I went along because I was curious, and even though he was very nice with me--he was a very nice and gentle person--the whole thing I didn't like. Also in those times, it was not the right thing to do, you know. I was always nagged by the thought of what happened in Europe. But I went along. Then when twelve o'clock, you

know, was around, champagne was served, and big photos have been made. But I told my husband, "Don't look around. Sit like that." I was sitting there, we both were with the back to photograph. But all the others were on the photo; I think I have the photo somewhere. And then he was invited also for the inauguration of Roosevelt. He was there.

WESCHLER: Lion was?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, Sascha Rubinstein. We were invited, too, and it was planned that we would go with Rubinstein, but I didn't want to go with him. So we both didn't want--also didn't go. Also there was another thing: this attack against my husband in Time magazine. My husband considered it very damaging for the Emigration, because everybody knew that Roosevelt had helped us escape; so he didn't want to come there. He was always so anxious not to embarrass anybody. He didn't want to embarrass Mrs. Roosevelt. (In the meantime, I also remember the name of this man who wrote the article. His name was the same as "mud" in English. Ja, really, isn't that funny? But now I have to think about this name in German. Schlamm. And that is verbally translated mud.)

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AUGUST 22, 1975

WESCHLER: One last story about New York, before we come to Los Angeles, concerns how Lion procured his American secretary.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was very funny. When he arrived at the pier in New York, there was a young journalist who referred to me to meet him. I had met him in Paris during the PEN Club congress. There were always a lot of what we call in Europe those paparazzi, those journalists who wanted to hear and say anything, know everything, and are very reluctant to be just not noted. But he was one of those who looked very bright. He was not shy, but he was a little more modest than the others; so he caught my eye. I spoke with him and was sorry for him that he couldn't come through because there were just too many. My husband had something to do. He wasn't there for the journalists; he had to go to the congress as the representative of the German delegation. So I spoke with him several times, and I also remembered his name. And when my husband arrived in New York, he came to the ship and said he knows me, and if he could have an interview of Lion. This helped him, of course. Lion said, "There is only one problem. I have to have a secretary quickly because I have to do a lot

of work and writing." So he procured for my husband his secretary, who was since then, until his death in '58, his faithful secretary. Without her my husband couldn't have done the work he did. She was so devoted and did more than her duty, as you always say, and also so understanding-- it was really the greatest luck we could have in America, to have her. It was not always easy for me, as it was not easy in Europe with the European secretary, but I realized how important she was for my husband. And since his death she is my collaborator, as faithful as she was for him.

WESCHLER: What is her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Hilde Waldo.

WESCHLER: And do you remember the name of the journalist?

FEUCHTWANGER: Thomas Parsky.

WESCHLER: So now here we are in Los Angeles. The best way to begin might be to tell us about the houses that you occupied. It sounds like you occupied several in quick fashion.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. All the time. I think every six months we had to change. And we were always so conservative, we never wanted to change a house. Like here we are now since '43 in this house. And now it's '75.

WESCHLER: Let's trace where you went. You started, you told us last time, in Mandeville Canyon.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we were in the house of Eva Herrmann,

who went skiing. We lived there until she came back. Then I went skiing, and then we were in Nogales. When she came back to her house, we rented a house on Amalfi Drive. Lisl Frank, the wife of Bruno Frank, found it for me. She thought it would be the right house for us. She saw it because Thomas Mann lived very near also to this house. This house was owned by Dudley Murphy, who was a movie man who was known for documentary French movies. His father was a painter, and when he made a trip to Mexico, he met the famous painter [David Alfaro] Siqueiros. They became good friends, and he invited him to come to Los Angeles to live in his house for a while. But when Siqueiros came, he came not alone, but he came with wife and father and mother and I don't know--a whole bunch of people came. And they lived there from the hospitality of Murphy. Finally he realized that this is a little too much asked, and so he said, "I probably couldn't pay you back whatever it costs you, but I would like, if it's all right with you, to paint the hall in the patio with paintings." And that's what he did, and those are the rather famous paintings of Siqueiros there which are, I think, rather revolutionary. All those famous painters in Mexico were revolutionaries.

WESCHLER: This is the house which the [Willard] Coes bought later and live in now. [1650 Amalfi Drive]

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but we didn't know the Coes then. Later

on, I met the Coes at a Philharmonic concert conducted by Bruno Walter where Mrs. Coe and I had our photos taken together by the L.A. Times. They invited me for a party at their house and wanted to tell me where they lived. They said maybe it's difficult to find, but I said, "You don't have to tell me, I lived in this house before."

WESCHLER: So how long did you live there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, about six months, I think. Then the owners came back. They had wanted to rent the house only because Mrs. Murphy had a child and had to go to the hospital. Later she wanted to take it easy and live with other people for a while and so. But then they wanted to go back to their house and we had to leave again. Then again we found a house in Mandeville Canyon [1744 Mandeville Canyon Road]; this was owned by a lawyer with the name of Elliot, I think. It was a big house, a Spanish house on a hill, and below was an enormous garden, you could say almost a plantation of avocados and persimmons. There were so many fruits that we could have sold them and make lots of money. I always told the owners to take care of that because we couldn't probably eat all those fruit. But I brought always--the Brechts didn't live far away, and they were always provided with avocados and persimmons from our garden.

One day I came home from the market, I went through the entrance, and there I saw a man kneeling before my husband. He turned around, and it was Alexander Granach, the famous actor from the Max Reinhardt ensemble. And he told--then he told me the story which I knew, of course....

WESCHLER: First of all, had you known him in Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Yes, I knew him before, from Munich already, before we were in Berlin. He was a young actor from what is called White Russia; that is near Czechoslovakia, but they speak Russian there. He was a baker. He was very poor and a baker, and his only aim in life was to be an actor. He was bowlegged, but even that wouldn't have prevented him, because he went and had his legs broken so they would be straightened. When he was all right again, he went to Germany and became an actor in Max Reinhardt's theater, even a very good and famous actor. But I didn't know him then. I met him the first time in Munich when part of the Reinhardt theater had for the season a theater, and did performances of German classics, Schiller and so. My husband and I, we went through the Maximilianstrasse to our house, or to our apartment. Then somebody called from behind and said, "Mr. Feuchtwanger, Mr. Feuchtwanger!" We turned around, and there was standing a man we didn't know. He said, "My name is Alexander Granach. I'm the famous actor Alexander Granach, and I know about you and I read your books.

I want to meet you, and you have to come to my performance."
(That was right there, the Schauspielhaus.) And there he
played in Kabale und Liebe. It was an outstanding performance.

Later on, of course, he had to flee Germany when
Hitler came to power. He had no other means to go any-
where else than to Russia, because it was very late and
all the possibilities were not open anymore. But for him it
wasn't so tragic because he spoke Russian. He thought the
only thing he wanted to do was to be an actor, and he can
do it also in Russia. He was well received and also im-
mediately had the possibility to play. But with his drive
in life, he was also a great, what they called in those
days, erotic, very erotic--which means he had a great
sexual drive. So immediately he got a girlfriend and was
happy with her, but then he found another one whom he liked
better and left the first one. And the first one denounced
him as a spy. From one day to the other, he disappeared
and nobody knew where or when or what. His friends didn't
even know how and why. But one of his colleagues, an actress
who liked him very much, wanted to help him if she could.
She came to Sanary in France to see my husband and told him,
"You are the only person who could help Alexander Granach,
because you have seen Stalin. He knows you, and if you
write him maybe there would be hope." And that is what
my husband did. But we never heard anything later about the

whole thing, what happened. And then it was that really Granach has been freed by Stalin, but we never knew about it. And then we were in Mandeville Canyon, in this house, and he arrived in Los Angeles, and the first thing was to thank my husband for having saved his life.

WESCHLER: Did Lion receive many requests like that to save Russians from...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he had several. One was a doctor. His daughter [Sonja Wolf Friedman] told my husband, and my husband tried again, and he never knew if it was successful. But many years later, he got a letter from Israel, and the daughter wrote my husband that they could go out. Her father [Dr. Friedman] was suspected of something, I don't know, but they could go out, and they went to Israel. But the funny thing was that her letter was not very grateful to Russia: she was very hateful. My husband never answered her, because he thought when they were released by Russia, she shouldn't be so vengeful anymore. But we still have the photograph she sent us. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Do you have any other stories about Mandeville Canyon?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, an entrance of the house was on the street but it went up an incline or a hill to the garage-- rather steep. And once Emil Ludwig came to see us. He lived in Stone Canyon, I think [333 Bel Air Road]. He

came to see us; he liked also to have discussions with my husband. He came with his car, parked the car, and went in. But when my husband accompanied him out, when he left, the car wasn't there anymore. Just wasn't there. I came home also (I usually used the time when my husband had visitors to go shopping or do things like that), and I found the car down in the garden, turned over in the flower bed, in my gladiolas flower bed.

WESCHLER: That seems to be a theme of your life at this period, cars rolling by themselves.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But Emil Ludwig was not a very good driver, I think. Anyway the car was there in the gladiolas. He didn't even find it. [laughter] So I called Mrs. Emil Ludwig, who was a very energetic beautiful older woman with white hair, very good looking and very intelligent, and she said, "Oh, yes, those things happen to my husband." She came with her car, and she ordered this car taken out. I think it had to be repaired, but it was no great shakes.

WESCHLER: What was he like, besides absentminded?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a very generous man. Very generous. He had an enormous estate in Switzerland and made enormous money with his books, but he died a pauper. He was so poor that they lived in one room later.

WESCHLER: Just because of his generosity?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. It was also in his family. His father was a great eye doctor and [they were] very wealthy people, always helping others; it was in the tradition. He never was thinking or really realizing what he did probably.

WESCHLER: Particularly with the refugees, he was very generous?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, everyone who came to him has been helped. And he hasn't been thanked for it, you know, because nobody spoke well of him. He had kind of a little bravura to speak, you know; his way was vain, but he was very kind, also very cultured and very amusing to speak with. I liked him very much.

WESCHLER: What did Lion and he think of each other's work?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he admired my husband very much, and my husband admired some of his work, but not all of it. Lately he became lazy when in America. He wrote a book about Christ which was very bad because he didn't do his own research. He trusted others, and you have to be careful with this kind of book. He made a lot of mistakes in his work. So he was less famous here than he was before.

WESCHLER: This brings up the question about Lion's writing. Did he use researchers apart from you and his secretary or something?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he researched usually himself. Before he

had this man Kahn-Bieker, you know, in Germany. He told him what he wanted to know and to get the books. Kahn-Bieker didn't make the research, he brought him only the books he needed. But Kahn-Bieker was himself a very, very cultured man and knew what kind of books Lion--as you know yourself, it's just a method how to find the books. The method he had, but Lion would never have let somebody else read them for research.

WESCHLER: After that, ja, we had to go on Sunset. We had a house [at 13827] Sunset Boulevard. It was a very beautiful house with also an enormous garden which was in the rear (later on it has all been built up). There we could make our jogging in the garden; it was several miles every day when we made the rounds of the garden. I had also a victory garden there, because there was not enough to eat for everybody. They said it is patriotical to have vegetables.... I liked to plant myself, and we had a good life there but we didn't want to buy the house. The people who owned it--he was also a lawyer; he had to do some oil business in Dallas--wanted us to buy it, and we didn't want to buy it because it was on Sunset. I was afraid there would be too much traffic later on.

WESCHLER: Where on Sunset was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was near Amalfi Drive. It was a very, very nice part, and also Sunset is very broad and there are

only villas (there are no apartments or so), but I was afraid there would be too much traffic, and I'm glad that we didn't buy it. But to live there was nice. There also was a beautiful patio and beautiful garden. But then we had a hard time because all of a sudden, without much notice, they wanted us out. If we wouldn't buy the house, they wanted to go back into the house. And there was a lawsuit because we had an option to stay longer, half a year longer. We didn't have another house; from one day to the other, from one month to the other, they wanted us out. And the lawyer had wanted to make a point that we have a right with the option to stay longer. Also there was this law during the war that said nobody could be put out of the house if they didn't want. So we could have stayed there, but the judge was very much against my husband. He must have been very reactionary or so, because he said, without considering the law or even mentioning the law which was a war law, he said that it would be really something sorry if in America an owner couldn't go into his own house. Things like that. So I found--after what I heard from the lawyer--that even if we would win this trial, it would be very uncomfortable to live there, and also, always to have this appealed again. So I said, "If we are not wanted, we don't stay."

So I was looking for another house and I found another

house on Amalfi Drive south. It was an enormous, big house, but there was nothing else to have. But it was also very funny, because this house was owned by a Major [Melone] from the army who did intelligence work, so we were not allowed to have a telephone in the house. They lived in a little house beside, in a kind of gardener house, and we had the big house. We had to take the house if we wanted--there was no other house available. Lots of things which we needed were lacking in the house, a big table and all those things. Also I had to order that we have gas and electricity, and there were difficulties because nowhere was enough help. It was during the war; it was very difficult to change houses. I had to use the telephone of those people who owned the house in this little house, and I had to have a high ladder. I was sitting in the driving rain on the ladder using their telephone through the window. (I could only telephone through the window--high, a very high ladder, because it was in the second story.) And there I was sitting and ordering what we needed, furniture and groceries and all those things, in the driving rain, because we were not allowed to have a telephone.

WESCHLER: Obviously that house wasn't going to last very long.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but as long as we could, we stood there. There was no other house available. Also those people

wanted the house back finally; they wanted to be with their telephone again, because later on it was we who had the telephone, but I will always remember, me sitting on the high ladder in this driving rain. [laughter]

WESCHLER: So in addition to being refugees, you were gypsies in Los Angeles.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that's true, always from one house to the other. In this house we met the first time Arnold Schoenberg, who came to see us with Hanns Eisler. That was what I remember the most.

WESCHLER: Well, we'll talk about them in more detail in due course. How long was it before you finally ended up with this house?

FEUCHTWANGER: We stayed in this house--also those people would have liked that we buy the house, but there were many reasons I didn't think it was the right thing. First of all, my husband and I wanted always to be nearer to the ocean, to have a view to the ocean. That was always our idea; the only thing we wanted was to have a house with a view. Even there, there was also a nice garden, and it went down in a kind of canyon where almost nobody else lived, you know. It was nice; we could make beautiful walks there. It went down to the Uplifters Club. So it was nice and green, and we could walk for an hour without seeing anybody there. But then I didn't want the house, and I finally found this house here, and then we changed again.

WESCHLER: Now, this house, the house at [520] Paseo Miramar, has an interesting history all its own. You might tell us that history very quickly.

FEUCHTWANGER: When we came to the house at first--I must begin with that--I heard that everybody who saw the house ran away in horror. There was the great art collector, Peggy Guggenheim; she later went to Venice, I think, to live there. She wanted to buy the house, but when she saw the condition of the house, she ran away. Mrs. Thomas Mann has been offered the house: it was the same. So finally I came with a man; I found the only real estate man who understood what I wanted was an Englishman. All the others couldn't understand that I was insisting on a view over the ocean. They found all kinds of houses but couldn't understand that I didn't want them. But this man from England--the English people always went to Italy to have a good time, so he knew what that means--he found this hill. And he said almost every house on this hill--there were only nine houses then there--is for sale, because it's so far away from everything and there was not enough gasoline to go around. We had to have stamps for gasoline, and those people who had children to go to school--there were no schools here in Pacific Palisades in those times. There were no markets, and the people who had their business in Beverly Hills or downtown, they had not enough gasoline. So every house was for sale. We went from one

house to the other, but most of the houses needed a lot of repair. One was even condemned because when it rained the water came in from the rear. Now it is sold, and with a lot of money (I think they paid \$50,000 to fix it). But then, on the top of the hill, we found the house which we wanted to buy [846 Paseo Miramar]. This man said he had his business downtown and he cannot stay there. And when we had finished the deal--we had already the contract and had already paid the down payment--all of a sudden this man said he cannot sell us the house. Of course, we could have had again a lawsuit, but I hated those things. He said, "I'll tell you quite openly, I cannot finance the house." Because in those days you had to have a mortgage or something to get another house. This house was so far away from the city that nobody would finance it because they said, "We don't even go so far to look at the house." So they couldn't finance the whole business, and he couldn't sell it. So we gave up.

And then I heard from this same real estate man that now this house maybe could be for sale. This house had been empty for eight years, and there was only a caretaker living here. It seems that the caretaker didn't want to leave; that's why he never sold the house for the people who owned it. And then finally he himself didn't want to stay anymore, also on account of the gasoline. So I came

to this house. As I said, it looked like it was about a foot high of earth and dirt in the house, because all the windows were broken. The caretaker lived upstairs, but he didn't take care of the house; he only lived there. All the windows were broken, and with the wind came the dust and all. There was really a foot high of dirt. You couldn't see what was underneath, if there was a floor or there was carpeting, or whatever it was. I went into the basement. Of course, I had to have all kinds of expertise, the condition of the roof, or the condition of the plumbing--you have to know that because everything was in bad shape. I had very good experts with me, and they told me that the plumbing was the real good old plumbing where everything was bronze and copper still, and you wouldn't find that anywhere anymore. So that was very satisfying. But the look of the house was terrible. But I fell in love of the view: that was the only thing I liked about the house. Because the other things--in the basement, the spider webs were so thick, you needed an axe to go through. You couldn't see anything, it was just so neglected, and that's why the other people always ran away.

WESCHLER: Well, before we hear your decision as to whether you buy it or not--although we know what it will be--could you give us a little flashback? It's an extraordinary house. How did this house get here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, later on we found that out. But before that it was not so easy to get it. After we got it, we lost it again. The same. It was an insurance company who wanted to sell it then because the insurance was very high, and the owners asked the insurance company to sell it for them, because there was only the widow left of the man who owned the house. Then we made also a down payment, and everything was all right. But all of a sudden they said we cannot have it--there is a lawsuit around, and it's impossible, and we cannot have it. We went to a lawyer, and he said, "I think we can have everything; I think those people just want more money. They thought they sold it for too little." And then this lawyer offered them much more money, and then all of a sudden the house was available again. But we would never have found that out; he found out that it was only a ploy. Then we bought the house, and there was nothing. The house was empty, but the first thing I bought was sleeping bags. With paying for the house, we had no money anymore for furniture. We couldn't have paid for the house if my husband hadn't just sold before, just in the right moment, his new novel to Collier's magazine.

WESCHLER: Which novel was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think it was the Lautensacks.

He sold it, and with this money we could buy the house but no furniture. So we felt, we sleep in the garden. The

garden was a wilderness which we liked much better than those manicured gardens. Then finally we bought some [furniture]. I bought some secondhand; everywhere in second-hand shops I bought--and I was very lucky. But what would you like to know first? How I furnished the house or the history of the house?

WESCHLER: Why don't you tell us a little bit about the history of the house first?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. The lady who sold the house, the widow of the owner [Sophia Weber], told us that they had owned the whole hill. They owned the whole hill--there was no street or anything--just owned the whole territory. It was an old California family, and her husband was a judge. After they decided to open the area, they did it together with the Los Angeles Times. So he built the street and brought the electricity and gas and water and all that here, and it was quite a time until that was finished. Then they decided to build a house in Spanish style. They didn't want a Mexican-Spanish, but a real Spanish style, because the whole area has Spanish names all around--Miramar and all those names, and Castellammare, which is also in Spain and Italy. So they went to Spain and found a house in the neighborhood of Seville which was an old castle, a small castle, a playboy castle, you would say (maybe somebody who had a girlfriend built it for her or so).

It was not a big castle. They found not only the castle, which was the style which they wanted, but also they found the blueprints there, old blueprints with all the scrolls; these blueprints are very valuable and they are now in the safe at the university [USC]. They built the house here exactly after the blueprints. And that was that. And before the house was really finished, the judge died in court.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Arthur A. Weber. Her sons were already abroad in universities; she was all alone. And she didn't want to stay alone here, so she wanted to sell it. But she couldn't sell it because it was too big, and also it was too far away from everything. That's why it was so cheap for us to get it.

WESCHLER: So this was just a complete recreation of a Spanish castle?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and they brought also many things from Spain. The ceilings, the wood of the ceilings, they brought from Spain, and the fountain in the patio is from Italy. So we were very lucky to get that.

WESCHLER: Okay, we have you out camping in the wilderness with a dusty house. How did you...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but dusty.... It was not dust; it was hard stuff. You couldn't know what's underneath. There I was, and I couldn't find anybody to clean it, because

everybody was in the army or in munition plants. And then the lawyer, Mr. Eric Scudder, who was called the "King of Pacific Palisades".... He owned a lot of real estate here and also was connected with real estate people. He was a great admirer of my husband. When we came here, the first thing, he came to see us on Amalfi Drive, to make our acquaintance and introduce himself. He gave a big party for my husband, where [Alfred] Wallenstein was there, you know, the conductor, and [Dr. Albert] Goldberg, the critic, and all the people, mostly from music, the music world. He introduced us here to those people, and he asked me if he can be of any help. And so I told him, "Yes, I need somebody to clean the house." [laughter] He said, "Yes, I know this is a big problem. But I have a man. He is a Negro, and he comes at nights to clean my office. Maybe I can get him to help you at the house. But he can only work at night, because in the daytime he has to work at the munition plant." And so there came an enormous Negro, you know--it was really a giant before the door--and he said he is sent by Mr. Scudder to help me. I was very glad to have such a big man. He began to clean this big room here, which is the great library (we call it "the big library"). I was kneeling on one end, and he was kneeling on the other end, and first we shoveled the dirt into bags and barrels, and then we carried it out on the terrace

and threw it down on the garden (it was good fertilizer). When we had all this emptied finally, we began to kneel down and clean it out, you know, and also the dirty water--we threw it all down the terrace.

WESCHLER: Real archaeological work.

FEUCHTWANGER: And there were dead lizards in the dirt, you know; it was really like excavating something. And dead mice. Whatever you wanted to find. We threw everything out over the terrace into the garden--which was a very fertile garden finally--until it was clean. By then it was morning. I brought him lots of coffee and beer. And in the morning, we met in the middle of the room--he from one side, I from the other. I was as fast as he was. And when we were kneeling there, he always said, "Oh, what a night, what a night!"

Then there was a knock on the window here from the patio, and there was a lady outside. She asked me if she could come in, and I said, "Of course, if I'm not too dirty for you." So she said, "You know, I wanted to welcome you on this hill, because I know who you are, and your husband. I wanted to tell you that in a way we are related." Then she told me the following: her husband is Count Ostheim, and he is descendant of the Duke of Württemberg, who was the monarch in Jud Süß, the duke of Jud Süß. This was the relation. I told her, "When you say your husband is a

count, we could not be related. Maybe I could be related with King David, but not with a count in Germany." [laughter] Anyway, we had a good laugh, and then she asked if she can be of any help. And I said, "You know, now we have gotten most of the dirt out of the house, but if I need somebody, I come to see you." And then she invited us for dinner to her house. They lived higher up on the hill. And when we came there, there were two things which were remarkable: first, I saw an enormous rug which I found beautiful. I said, "This is so beautiful, I hate to step on it." She said, "You know, I like it also very much, but I got it at a rather good price at an auction during the Depression." I made a joke and said, "I would even pay \$200 more for it if I could have it." And then we forgot about it. Then my husband saw a painting, a portrait on the wall, and said, "This man looks so familiar to me." It was not that it was the duke or so, his relative; she said, "This is my father. He is an Englishman and a member of Parliament in England. He married my mother who is from the Swift meat-packers in Chicago."

WESCHLER: Oh, I see what's coming.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And when my husband was on his lecture tour in Chicago in 1932, this man invited my husband to live in their house. He had a whole suite, you know, with servants and all that. And that was her father. So, you

know, if you would invent those things you would say that it's just not true; it cannot happen, those things.

WESCHLER: It's like in a novel.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But in a novel you wouldn't believe it.

Truth is more fiction than a novel. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, what happened with the rug?

FEUCHTWANGER: The rug, yes. Several months later, she called me and said, "Do you still keep your offer?" And I said, "What offer?" I forgot all about it. She said, "You know, you told me you would pay \$200 more for the rug. We want to go to Ireland, because in America it's too communistic for us. But if I sell the house, I don't get a cent more if I have the rug there. Underneath the rug is a beautiful blue carpeting, and I wouldn't get--I'd rather sell that separately." My husband's birthday, I think sixty-five or something--no, sixtieth birthday--was very near, and I was very glad to find something for it. I said, "Yes, of course I would like to have this rug, if you tell me how--if I can pay for it." Then she said, "You know, it's just a joke. I don't want anything more than what I paid myself. I show you the bill from the auction; you will get it at the same price." Then I said, "That's fine, and I'm very glad to have it. But how do we bring this rug down to our house? There is nobody to get it, no moving people or something." Then she said, "Oh, I

have an old gardener, and he will do it. But don't pay him too much; he's very fresh and asks always too much, you know. Don't let yourself go into his deals. And then there came a little man--he was drunk, seventy years old, and he looked it--and he said, "The countess sent me to move the carpet down." I said, "All right, but do you think you can carry it?" "Oh, I am the strongest man in California," he said. And I said, "Let's see." We went up, and I had a convertible then. I thought this would be good, to have it open, so he can drape the whole thing over the car, because it was very long, big. But you know--maybe you don't know--the value of a Persian rug is the heaviness, the weight. That decides the value. So this rug was really something of value. He couldn't even lift it, you know. Finally, we all four together--the count, the countess, I, and the old drunk gardener--we four took it on our shoulders like the seven Schwaben (you know, there's a German legend of the seven Schwaben--"from Swabia"--who carry a big spear against the enemy). So we carried it along on our shoulders to drape it over the car, and we went down. But when we arrived, we had no count and countess anymore. How did you get that off the car? So I remembered that in the basement I found an old roll of carpeting. (And in those days there were no houses here, you know; we couldn't even see a neighbor. Nobody ever passed here with

a car.) So we took this roll out and rolled it along the car and threw the rug on this piece of carpeting and sled it down, like a sled, dragged it down the stairs and into the room, and there it was. But we couldn't do anything with laying.

WESCHLER: Is that the rug that's there now in the living room?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. And then the countess told me that for such a kind of rug you have to have underneath a kind of lining, a pad, a big pad. So I ordered a big pad from Sears Roebuck, gave them the measurement, and they brought the pad. And I said, "Please put the rug on it." And those two workmen, they really did it. That's why since then it's lying there.

WESCHLER: Well, gradually you started furnishing the house.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. I went to all those secondhand stores, mostly downtown, the secondhand big department stores. There I was very lucky because the whole fashion had changed. [pause in tape] I found that the Barker Brothers secondhand store was very interesting for furniture because in those times, they changed. You know, here are always these fads. With the movie people there are certain fads, certain styles, and this was the time where they all of a sudden wanted all French furniture, Louis XVI mostly,

you know, those little chairs which are golden. I hate this style; even with the real furniture at the [J. Paul] Getty Museum, I don't like this kind of style. So I was very lucky. I went to the furniture stores, and I just couldn't buy those things. I found it so awkward. Also they didn't fit in this house. So I went to secondhand stores, and all the movie people, the great directors and producers, they all threw their furniture out. They were glad that people took it out for nothing, and they didn't even sell it sometimes; they just were glad that somebody picked it up. And I found the most beautiful antique things there. And they had their golden little chairs. And I found-- for instance, I found out that in West Los Angeles, on Santa Monica Boulevard, there are all kinds of junk stores. I drove very slowly through, and I saw sometimes in the little gardens, in the rain, the most beautiful things. People were so glad they got rid of it. For instance, this table here: it was just beginning to rain. In those little houses (ticky-tacky houses, I think you call it), they had no room inside. So they said, "Oh, we are glad if you take it, any price you pay for it." So I said, "What is it?" "Six dollars. And we even bring it to your house." And this is Canadian rosewood. I remember Heinrich Mann, who knew about those furniture, he was very much in love with its [legs], which have lion feet, and he said [it was] the

only thing he wanted. And Sholem Asch [liked] the chair outside, and he said, "I just only want this chair. Won't you sell it or find a similar one?" And then I went to Glendale, where all those junk stores are, and I found those old chairs, and real Sheraton furniture, tables. And those are what is called English captain chairs, where every one is of another design, another pattern, and very valuable. You couldn't buy that anymore; only imitations you get. So I found all the old real things, from France and from Germany, and I knew the difference. Mostly the difference is that they are cheaper than the new furniture. I found that out in France where I went into the old farms, I brought chairs with me right away, new chairs, and said, "Would you like new chairs?" And they said, "Oh, yes, we want those chairs. We give you our old ones." So finally we had the house furnished. But we needed some overstuffed furniture, you know, like this here, sofas. Somebody told me of an upholsterer who makes cheap sitting chairs. And he came here to take measurements for those corners and things like that. He said, "It would be a nice little house, if only it would be furnished." [laughter] "It's so empty," he said. But my husband never wanted anything on this big rug, you know. He said this rug has to stay like it is. He said there should be two love seats on it.

WESCHLER: Or you could play basketball on it, the way it is

right now. It's a huge empty room. Wonderful.

TAPE NUMBER: XXII, SIDE TWO

AUGUST 22, 1975 and
AUGUST 27, 1975

WESCHLER: We're talking about the house on Paseo Miramar. I understand the Brechts were not amused.

FEUCHTWANGER: Brecht resented it very much: "How can you move so far away from everything? You can only live in Santa Monica. Pacific Palisades doesn't exist; it's just trees and hills. When somebody's sick, there is no doctor; when you need a pharmacy, there is nothing to buy. You cannot live so far away from civilization." His wife said, "This house looks like a hotel to me, and I wouldn't live in it for everything." And I--what could I do?--they wanted me to take back the deed and--hah!--we couldn't find another house. I was not fond of the house yet, because when this conversation went on, it was still empty. It was just that I was fond of the view and the possibility of the garden. Later on we bought even more, even more lots. Every time my husband got money for his books or from the movies, we didn't buy a fur coat, or my husband a new suit or something like that; he went to the book dealers downtown, and I went to the nurseries. I planted trees, I said, because you make paper out of trees and a writer needs paper. [laughter] We had even papyrus growing in the garden.

WESCHLER: Now that the name of Brecht has come up, we might spend the rest of today's session talking about Brecht in Los Angeles. The first thing to do, I suppose, is--well, why don't we start by asking, was Brecht here in L.A. when you arrived?

FEUCHTWANGER: We brought him over.

WESCHLER: You--how did that go?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, you don't remember that? I never spoke about that? Brecht went first from Germany to Denmark and lived with Karin Michaelis. Then he had to leave Denmark because the Nazis took over, and he went to Sweden. In Sweden it was not very secure either, because the Nazis invaded Norway and the Swedes were very much afraid that they also could do the same with Sweden. They warned him not to stay there. (I also think they wanted to get rid of him because they knew of his background, his communistic background.) Anyway, he went to Finland, but he found out that [Baron Carl] Mannerheim, the dictator of Finland, was a friend of Hitler. So he couldn't stay in Finland either, and went then to Moscow, with his wife, his two children, and his secretary. He lived in Moscow for a while and was very unhappy because he couldn't speak Russian, he couldn't write Russian. What does a German writer do in Russia? So he wanted to come at least to America, where there are lots of German writers and possibilities. Also he wanted to see

my husband again and work with him. And there was a possibility to write and also be printed in German. But his money--until then he still had some money left from the Threepenny Opera--was now at an end, and he had no means to come to America. So he went to my husband's publisher in Moscow and asked him if he could get some money from his account, from his royalties. And the man said, "Of course, how much do you need?" This wouldn't happen.... I always said, only in a dictatorship where you don't have to have an accountant, or whatever it is, tax people who would look in the whole trade.... He just said, "Of course, how much do you want?" Brecht told us he asked for a very high sum. He thought they could always give him less, but he really got the big sum he asked for.

WESCHLER: Out of the Feuchtwanger account?

FEUCHTWANGER: Out of the Feuchtwanger royalties. So he took the money, [and with] his wife and two children--the secretary [Margarete Steffin] unfortunately had died in Moscow--he went by the Trans-Siberian train to Vladivostok.

WESCHLER: Did you and Lion know about...?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, there was no possibility to know. There was nothing, no connection with Russia in those times. So he went to Vladivostok and took the last ship which came from Vladivostok to America. It was the last ship: afterwards came the war. It was in '41. The ship had two weeks;

it was staying two weeks in the Philippines, and then he came here [July 21, 1941]. And I expected him here in San Pedro at the pier, waited there, and brought him with my car. I had the former secretary of my husband (Erna Budislawski, his Los Angeles secretary before Hilde came from New York). We were both with our cars, and we took all what they had, their belongings, with us. Then we stopped. It was terrible hot, I remember. It was in the summer, and the first thing Brecht wanted was to eat American ice cream. So we stopped at a drive-in for ice cream.

WESCHLER: A surprisingly common story, by the way. I've heard that many times.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Then we lost the others, but fortunately I had the address of some of his friends who were here--I didn't know them then; friends of his secretary, I think--and they had an apartment for them. I had the address of the apartment on Argyle [Avenue] which was very high up. It was enormously hot. It was like--what do they call it?--the roofs of Venice, you know, the famous torture in Venice, those roofs which were made from lead, lead roofs. It was the same--so hot it was there. You couldn't breathe in this small apartment.

WESCHLER: Where was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: On Argyle.

WESCHLER: Where's that?

FEUCHTWANGER: It's near Western [Avenue]. It is a parallel street around there in Hollywood. It was just terrible. And they came from a cold country, you know; they just couldn't live there. So I finally took it on me to find something in Santa Monica. And it was also not.... You just couldn't find a house--mostly small houses were so difficult--because they didn't build during the war. Even when it was not the war yet, but it was already the war in Europe and they had to deliver ammunition and so, nothing happened in building here. You could buy a lot in Pacific Palisades for fifty dollars, because nobody could build. No real estate business I found had anything, so I went with my car, just around in Santa Monica, in those little streets. On Twentieth Street I found a little house which was livable and cool from the breeze of the ocean. And we brought them--the whole thing again--over to Santa Monica from there, with their things and whatever they brought with them, you know, four people in the car. Fortunately I had a convertible. It looked really like gypsies. But it was a very small house, and the entrance was....

WESCHLER: At Twentieth and what cross street?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember. They didn't live very long there. The living room was right from the entrance, and there were only two bedrooms. It was very small, but they had a big fruit tree garden. They were very happy because

when we arrived on Sepulveda [Boulevard], then all of a sudden, you felt this air from the ocean. In Westwood it was still terribly hot, but it was there that he could breathe, and he was very happy then. But to work it was too loud, too many people in so small a house. But they couldn't afford a bigger house.

But then my husband and he worked together. He wanted to write again a play with my husband, and they worked together on Simone [Die Gesichte der Simone Machard]. A friend of ours, with the name of Jo Swerling, liked the play very much--it has been translated into English, only a rough translation--and he wanted to make a movie out of it. Jo Swerling was the man who wrote this musical, Guys and Dolls. He was very rich and very kind--he wanted to help the Emigration and so. But he really was enthusiastic about the play, and he brought it to his friend Sam Goldwyn. Goldwyn read it, and his wife read it, but they both said they couldn't understand it, and it's nothing with which they would want to make a movie out of. But Swerling wanted to make the script, so he told my husband again and nothing--he couldn't do anything about it. But when they had finished the play, my husband was not always happy about what happened in this play. He wanted to explain it a little better, because he had always a purpose in those days, you know, a political purpose. He found it

wouldn't come out enough in the play, so he wrote a little novel [Simone]. It immediately had been printed. Also-- I don't remember--it was [later] printed in a periodical and also it was [at that time] the choice of the Literary Guild, and it brought a lot of money. Then Goldwyn read the book and said, "Now I understand it." [laughter] So he bought the book for a very good sum. And my husband shared the money with Brecht, because they wrote the play together. So Brecht could then buy the house in which he lived for a longer time, and in which he worked also until he left here.

WESCHLER: Where was that house?

FEUCHTWANGER: That was on Twenty-sixth Street. I have the house number if you want it. [1065 Twenty-sixth Street]

WESCHLER: We'll get it later on. Do you remember the cross street there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very near to Wilshire [Boulevard]. Between San Vicente [Boulevard] and Wilshire, but a little nearer to Wilshire. Near Montana [Avenue], I think it was.

WESCHLER: I want to talk a little bit more about Brecht. What were his spirits like when he first arrived here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was of course very happy to be here, and very expecting, in an expecting mood, what could happen with movies. He was always very much interested in movies, and he had a lot of friends here--the Viertels, Homolka,

who played in the first performance of the Edward II, and Fritz Lang--many people were here already whom he knew. So he thought he could do something with movies here. Fritz Lang had a great respect for everything of authority, for poets and writers who he esteemed, had a great esteem for and wanted to help Brecht. He immediately offered to make a movie with him together, and that was Hangmen Also Die. But they didn't go along together very well, because they had so different ideas. Brecht wanted always, when somebody told him something, the contrary, you know. It was a kind of hypnosis, almost--that when he heard something, it was inspiring him in a contrast. By this he had also the best ideas usually, but it wasn't good for working with Fritz Lang, who was too strong a personality. He could much better work with young people. Of course, he could very well work with my husband because it was something, they really complemented each other.

WESCHLER: Before we get to that, let's stick to Hangmen Also Die. Was that the only movie that Brecht worked on?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I think so. But he even was--he went along so badly later.... I think that was the only time I could say that Brecht was ungrateful. Because what Fritz Lang did was really to help him, and he just had--both didn't, it didn't--how do you say? There was no affinity between them.

WESCHLER: It just didn't work between them.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. I remember also sometimes, they came together--Brecht and Fritz Lang came out here to our house. I remember when they were sitting there in the living room, and Brecht made a suggestion, Fritz Lang said, "That they won't buy." That was always his answer when he said it doesn't work. Then Brecht said something else, and he said, "Yes, I think they would buy that." That's the only thing I remember. But they went along so badly that Brecht even asked not to have his name mentioned in the film.

WESCHLER: Is that how it now stands, that his name is not mentioned?

FEUCHTWANGER: His name is not mentioned.

WESCHLER: Did the relationship between Fritz Lang and Brecht break permanently after that?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was rather bad. But Lilly Latté was a great friend of Helli, also afterwards.

WESCHLER: Was Hangmen Also Die before the Simone play or after it?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think it was before. But we can find that out in his Arbeits Journal. In his Arbeits Journal, his kind of diary what he made, Brecht didn't speak well about almost anybody except about my husband. Really. I was amazed when I found out what he thought of other persons who I knew he liked. He disliked sometimes their approach to things and

so, and when he wrote this down it was in the immediate impression he had by discussion. It didn't come out that in fact he disliked the people personally, but he just disliked this discussion with them.

WESCHLER: So that the Arbeits Journal book is in fact misleading in many ways.

FEUCHTWANGER: Very much, I think, ja. I think so.

WESCHLER: Well, why don't we talk a little bit about the working on Simone, how that came about. Who came up with the original idea?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, both had a similar idea. First of all, Brecht read this book, The Devil in France, which my husband wrote, and there was one thing which.... He had always impressions, you know; he lived of impressions. And there was this impression of the refugees who streamed by and who needed food and who were in terrible shape. And in the play this girl brings them some food, which was always too little, because she was from a very rich hotel owner and was sent with food and never had enough, and this girl suffered so much about that: all these things he wanted to show. And this was the first vision he had. And then there was a friend of his, Ruth Berlau, who wanted always to make a kind of Maid of Orleans, that Brecht would write something like that. She also worked much with him. And my husband had certain things which he always wanted to do about daydreaming

and night-dreaming and the connections between them. That had a long time before already been in his mind. And so they complemented each other: those ideas came together, and everybody had to bring something from himself. And then the funny thing is that there were--there are two biographies I read, also about the play, and nobody found it worthwhile just to ask me how they did work together, or the secretary who typed for them. Nobody asked us, and we knew so well how it worked. One wrote that Brecht had written it alone and that he only brought what he had written to Feuchtwanger to have it edited a little bit. Things like that. But it was that Brecht came every day to my husband when we lived on Sunset, and they worked together until Brecht had to go home, very reluctantly, because it was the curfew (he couldn't stay longer than eight o'clock). Hilde brought him home then with the car. It was like that. And Brecht always wanted me there because he wanted always to hear my opinion. He always found that everybody who has an opinion, that could be fruitful in bringing them to other ideas--you know, one comes to the other. But my husband never liked to work with somebody else--Brecht was really an exception--and a third person in the room, he found that too much. So he wasn't very enthusiastic about it. But every time Brecht saw me out in the garden--they were in the patio where the den was--he called me in and

said, "What do you think about this part? What's your opinion?" So my husband was sitting there, waiting patiently what I would say, and sometimes I was of the opinion of Lion's, and sometimes I took the part of Brecht.

WESCHLER: How did Brecht respond if you had Lion's opinion?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he tried to persuade me, of course, [laughter] although he was never insisting on something.

When he found out that it could be the right thing, he never insisted because it was his idea or his thought. He just wanted to make the best out of it, and he didn't care who had the idea, if it was I, or Lion, or even if the street cleaner would get an idea, you know: he just wanted to have impressions of other people. So they went along very well, and when they had finished, Lion usually made notes. They discussed every word, every phrase, every scene. And then both of them went upstairs to my husband's study, and my husband dictated Hilde into the typewriter what they made together. Brecht was there and interrupted if he had another word, or if he wanted to have it otherwise. But they went along famously. It was just wonderful for those two to work together. Also my husband, who usually liked better to work on his novels, he said always it was a great experience and very exciting to work with Brecht.

WESCHLER: How long did it take?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember. Maybe Hilde would know

that. Not very long.

WESCHLER: And was there a marked difference between working with Brecht in this mature period as opposed to when they had first worked together when Brecht was a very young man?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, there was no difference. Maybe Brecht was a little milder already, a little older. [laughter] But it was really a very exciting thing, and my husband enjoyed it very much. And so did Brecht: sometimes when he came from us, he wrote down [in his Arbeits Journal] what his impressions were, that it was good to work with Lion, how he had a good sense of word and language and things like that. And maybe I told you--it was in Europe still, when they worked together in Munich--that about a word a whole day almost they discussed, and finally Brecht went home, and both were not satisfied. And at night, at twelve o'clock or so, my husband was still awake, there was somebody whistling down on the street. My husband went to the window, and Brecht shouted from below, "Doctor, you were right!" [laughter]

WESCHLER: Did they have any disagreements on Simone?

FEUCHTWANGER: No.

WESCHLER: I read that they did disagree as to the age of Simone.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, that's true; you are right, ja.

My husband wanted the girl--because they had her have

already a kind of flirt with a man, [Lion felt] she should be a little older and more thinking. Also, maybe he was not so much familiar with the modern children, while Brecht, who was younger and had children himself, he thought maybe a younger girl could have these same emotions. So there was always a discussion about the age. Until the end. Even before the play was finished, Brecht had to leave. (You know, when this [House] Un-American [Activities] Committee was, he had to leave.) And they had an agreement that everyone can finish the play as he wanted to do it; and my husband had the rights here in America, while Brecht had the rights in Europe. There was even a written contract, which usually wasn't necessary between the two. But it turned out later that for the publisher it was very important. So Brecht wrote still, "I have to tell you in a letter, I don't want an actress who looks like a girl who is thirteen years old. She has to be thirteen years old." And my husband always thought that when she's flirting, he couldn't imagine a girl who is thirteen years flirting already. So he wanted her a little older.

WESCHLER: The text that has been published by Grove, was it a copy that you had?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was my copy.

WESCHLER: And was the copy that Brecht used in Berlin the same copy essentially, or did he have a different one?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, in those days, it was not published in a book. It was only published in the magazine [Sinn und Form]. Ja, ja. And we have that, too.

WESCHLER: Did Brecht stage the play in Berlin himself?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. It has been staged the first time in Frankfurt, under the coaching of Helli Brecht--not her directing, but she coached the girl. It was a girl from East Berlin [Dorothea Jecht]. Helli coached her, I think, for half a year. And she was absolutely fantastic. I haven't seen her, but I have spoken with people who have seen her. For instance, Dr. Guggenheim was just then in Frankfurt--you know, my husband's agent--and he said she was so outstanding that you forgot all about the play and only saw her. She was thirteen.

WESCHLER: She was thirteen.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And it was like--you know, she was the maid and the top of her dress was a kind of armor, but below you saw her boots, her modern boots. Things like that. You have to see the pictures; we have all the photos from it. Ruth Berlau, who was a great photographer for the stage--I got all those books and pictures she made. It must have been fantastic.

WESCHLER: When was that? What year?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know.

WESCHLER: In the fifties?

FEUCHTWANGER: Probably, ja, in the fifties. [May 1957]

WESCHLER: And was it ever staged in the United States?

FEUCHTWANGER: [silence] Yes. [laughter] It was tried very hard. Ben Hecht tried very hard. He translated it into English and wanted it for his daughter. He said she wanted to play nothing else but this play. She was a little young actress. She would have also looked the part: she was very little and even looked very young, but she wasn't thirteen years old. But then when he made the translation and the adaptation, I didn't like it very much. He came here, and he understood everything what we spoke about, and he agreed with me and said, "I do it again. I do it again as often as you want. I want only that my daughter plays this play." But he died later. So it never came to pass that she played.

And then it has been played in Pomona. Mr. Andrew Doe, who was first at the Stopgap Theater at USC, he took over the theater in Pomona. There had been built an extra big theater for him, you know, looking like a theater with columns and all that. He performed the play, and it was excellently done. Because Doe, he really understood Brecht. He was one of the few who understood what Brecht was all about. When he was still here at the university, he played a lot of Brecht, but the people, also some of the theater department, I think, and patrons, complained that he always

wants to perform Brecht. They resented Brecht's expressions, his very folksy expressions or so, and that was the reason that he left there--because he just couldn't play Brecht anymore.

WESCHLER: And was a film ever made of Simone?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, never.

WESCHLER: So they got that big advance for a film, but it never came up.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. And then they wouldn't sell; they wouldn't give back the rights. Goldwyn, only out of friendship for my husband, gave back the rights for the theater, because they had the rights also for the theater. They could have interfered in any performance. But he gave free the theater rights. And it has been played everywhere in Europe. It is always played, still played all the time. The funny thing is that it has been played in Israel without my husband's name; they didn't know about it. That was a kind of intrigue, that somebody didn't tell them that my husband worked with Brecht.

WESCHLER: Well, I think we'll stop for today, and we'll start next time with some more stories about Brecht.

AUGUST 27, 1975

WESCHLER: Last time, we ended by talking about Brecht and one of his important collaborations here in Los Angeles,

which was with Lion, with Simone. Today I thought we would start by talking about Brecht and another one of his important collaborations, which was with Charles Laughton, the great collaboration on Galileo. First of all, you might tell us, do you happen to know how the two of them got to know each other? How did they meet?

FEUCHTWANGER: Probably it was through Hanns Eisler, I think, who was here before. He was working with Chaplin--he composed for Chaplin's films--and I think it was through Hanns Eisler that they met.

WESCHLER: We'll talk about Eisler and Chaplin more later. But I've heard that [Brecht and Laughlin] got along famous during the writing.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, really. Ja, ja, you can say that again.

WESCHLER: Well, why don't you tell us about that a bit.

FEUCHTWANGER: They usually worked together in Laughton's garden, and we came there almost every day afterwards for dinner. When we arrived a little earlier we saw both sitting on a bench and sweating in the hot sun. Laughton took his shirt off, and Brecht was always sitting with his old black leather jacket. They were so--they didn't even see us coming, they were so taken by their work together, you could say, fanatically intense working. We were just looking and hearing, and they were not disturbed by our presence.

WESCHLER: Now, what were they doing? They were translating Galileo?

FEUCHTWANGER: They were translating Galileo. Brecht didn't know very well English, very little English only, and Laughton didn't know German. But both knew French, and Laughton even very good French, because he played at the Comédie Française. That was something very rare, had never happened, I think, that an English actor played in the Comédie Française with the French so very keen about their language. But he told me that with great pride. And then--they went along great; you couldn't say anything else. And also I think the translation was very good.

WESCHLER: What was the intention with that translation? Was it going to be a film or a play?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it has been played with Laughton. At a theater on La Cienega [Boulevard]. It's a very known name, this theater [The Coronet Theater]. It has been played, and Hanns Eisler made the incidental music. It was a choir of young boys and it was very good. And Laughton was--it begins when Laughton washes himself, and this big, fat man had only pants on and washed himself the whole body. It was very--how would you say?--what Brecht always said, for Entfremdung, this word that he used, against the illusion [alienation].

WESCHLER: What do you think attracted Laughton so much

to Brecht?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was a very cultured man. He knew everything--not only Shakespeare. [laughter] He immediately felt the genius of Brecht. And then he was a theater man; he was an actor, not just for movies but a real theater actor, a Shakespearean actor. Although he was already so tall and big, he looked even taller and bigger--mostly bigger because in one pocket of his coat, he had Shakespeare, and in another pocket, he had the Bible. At the drop of a hat he always began to make a recital. Once he came with Brecht to our house here. We were sitting out in the patio, and he said, "What do you prefer, Shakespeare or the Bible?" But he didn't even wait for the answer: he took out Shakespeare and began to read. We were sitting around him on the ground, and it was really very impressive. And then afterwards we went into the garden--he was so interested in gardening. I told him I think I take out this hedge, and he said, "I would never forgive you if you take out this hedge. It has to stay. It's in the style of the garden." I brought him to the fig tree, and he tried the figs, which were very sweet, green figs, and he said, "I have to kiss your hand, you are such a wonderful gardener." [laughter]

WESCHLER: Where was Laughton's house?

FEUCHTWANGER: Laughton's house was above the ocean where

it began to--his garden began to slide down. Near Chautauqua [Boulevard], where the big sliding once was. There even was one man who died in the sliding. He loved his house; the view was beautiful, and also he had in his garden not only very strange and exotic plants, but also pre-Columbian ceramics, statues, and the work of the Mayans and things like that. Everywhere around in the garden. And when this began to slide, he told me, he couldn't stand to see his garden sliding down--a great part of his garden vanished--and he sold the house and went to Palos Verdes. There he had a big estate, an enormous estate, but we were never there. He was not there long, and then he sold that, too, because he went mostly around traveling with his small group for the recital of works of art--readings, Shaw mostly.

WESCHLER: Getting back to this question of why he was attracted, do you think he was more attracted to Brecht or to the part of Galileo, or was it both?

FEUCHTWANGER: Both.

WESCHLER: Was it Galileo itself that he longed to play?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. I think even with his lack of English, Brecht could make himself very well understandable, I think. And also Hanns Eisler told him probably about the play, so he was attracted to this role also. It was almost as if it has been written for him.

WESCHLER: I guess what I'm getting at--would Laughton have heard of Brecht before?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, nobody knew about Brecht before, here in America, except that he was the author of the Threepenny Opera. But in those days, his name was mostly even left out when it was announced. The Threepenny Opera was always by Kurt Weill, and his name sometimes wasn't even mentioned.

WESCHLER: Okay. [pause in tape]

FEUCHTWANGER: Brecht had this way of hypnotizing people, you know, when he was so--I could say it was almost like [pause in tape] possessed. Yes, he looked possessed by his ideas and by his way of looking at things, and this was contagious.

WESCHLER: Elsa Lanchester was Laughton's wife.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, she was the wife of Laughton. She was there, and she had a very good Czechoslovakian cook. She couldn't stay for the meals because she had to go to the Turnabout Theater, which Laughton financed. Laughton was a big money earner. (There was also Lotte Goslar, as a dancer, for whom Ernst Toch wrote a composition. She was a mime dancer mostly and she was great.) Once William Malloch came to me and wanted to ask me if I would make an interview about Brecht at KPFK, the radio station. Then he asked me if I knew of other people who knew Brecht who still lived here. I told him Dean [William] Melnitz and John Houseman,

the director, and also Elsa Lanchester, who was the wife of Laughton. It was a very big interview which was always intercut....

WESCHLER: Edited.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And when he sent me the tapes (and also they were printed, the whole interview), I read to my great embarrassment that Elsa Lanchester said the most devastating things about Brecht--how she hated him, how he mooched on Laughton, and his bad cigar always, how she had to redecorate the house, the drapes, because from the smoke of his cigars everything was dirty, and that his leather jacket smelled badly, and so, all those things. I was very embarrassed, and I told Malloch that I'm so sorry that I told him the name of Elsa Lanchester. But he said, "Oh, that doesn't matter. We liked that very much. We like controversy."

WESCHLER: Did Laughton and Brecht remain friends throughout?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. I could say that Laughton became a little cautious when Brecht had difficulties and had to leave here. He tried to play Galileo in New York, and it was not a success. And then I asked him if he wouldn't try it in England, and he said no, he wouldn't play it anymore.

WESCHLER: Was Laughton not as radical politically as Brecht was?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, not at all. That's why he didn't want

to play him anymore.

WESCHLER: I mean, he personally wasn't? It's not only that he was cautious; he wasn't politically radical.

FEUCHTWANGER: He had no political interest at all; he was only interested in his art. He was a little ham sometimes, but he was a great actor, so he could allow himself to do that. And that also was the great influence of Brecht: the ham disappeared through Brecht. You know, he made him a great actor--oh, he was a great actor before, but he made him greater because through Brecht's direction he lost all that what was a little hammish.

WESCHLER: Did Brecht direct the performance of Galileo?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not officially. It was [Joseph] Losey. He was a very good man; he is also a movie director. He was director, but of course Losey was also a great admirer of Brecht, and so they went along very well and both worked together. Helli made the costumes; she sewed the costumes. And Hanns Eisler composed the incidental music for boys' choir. It was very beautiful. On both sides of the stage were those boys singing always before the different acts.

WESCHLER: This thing about Brecht's direction reminds me of something that you once told me off tape which you might repeat. Apparently recently there was a performance of Brecht at which you were asked your direction, on how Brecht directed.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, by Gordon Davidson, you mean.

WESCHLER: Right, at the [Mark] Taper Forum [Autumn 1973].

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. It was The Little Mahagonny [The Mahagonny Songplay], it was called, and The Measure Taken [Die Massnahme]. He asked me to come to the rehearsal, and he wanted to know afterwards what my opinion was. I said, "I can only tell you one thing. When it is very exciting, then Brecht didn't allow that anybody was shouting. He wanted to make it playing down, played down and very quiet. People listen much better when people speak quiet than when they are shouting." He also was influenced--maybe--by that. I liked The Measure Taken very well, very much. I spoke also with the director [Edward Parone]. Gordon Davidson was not the director of the play; he's the director of the theater. And The Little Mahagonny was not the real.... It was a funny thing which was just an idea, a comical idea. The performance was very gay and joyous and comical, but it was not very important, the whole thing. It was very well done, even more comical than the play was. They had very good situation ideas. I know also that this was just a joke between Kurt Weill and Brecht. Kurt Weill had been asked to compose something for the unions in Germany, for Congress of the Unions or so, and he asked Brecht what he thinks he should make. They came to this idea, and just once has it been performed in Germany. So both were not thinking about a

great work or so. But when they worked on it, they thought it has possibilities and it should be used. Then they made together the real Mahagonny, which I think is even better. Mostly the music is much better than the Threepenny Opera.

WESCHLER: Okay. We've mentioned Charles Laughton, and we've mentioned Lion as two major friends of Brecht here. Who were some of Brecht's other friends?

FEUCHTWANGER: I have forgotten something when the performance was. After the performance of Little Mahagonny and The Measure Taken (which was not composed by Weill; The Measure Taken was composed by Hanns Eisler, and not by Kurt Weill, and it is a very good composition).... The performance was really beautiful, very good. Afterwards I have been asked by a journalist about my impression and about my experiences with Brecht. I have been asked by ABC, I think it was, to make an interview with Ralph Story; you remember his morning show? I had to be there, and I have been interviewed about Brecht, and I was very astonished: they asked me more about my husband than about Brecht. The person who interviewed me knew most of the books of my husband--I had to speak about Proud Destiny (this story about Benjamin Franklin)--and they knew also of the collaboration of both. So I had to speak about Brecht and my husband.

WESCHLER: Well, that's what you're having to do today also.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and then the theater made a big advertisement in the Calendar [section of the Los Angeles Times], a whole page, and there they quoted something which I told-- I forgot what it was--and underneath it was, "Marta Feuchtwanger, guest critic." And then Gordon Davidson even called me and said he thinks that the box office was better on account of my interview. But I think it was just because he wanted to be polite. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, bringing back that question, who were some of Brecht's other friends here in Los Angeles, besides Lion?

FEUCHTWANGER: There was Salka Viertel mostly. She was a writer; originally she was an actress. I knew her as an actress in Munich; she played also in one of my husband's plays. She was married with Berthold Viertel, who was a great director, a friend of Reinhardt who also worked with Reinhardt and then had his own theater. He was also a great writer, mostly a great poet. He had to be in New York and everywhere around, and she lived here. She was the writer for the Greta Garbo movies; she wrote all the screenplays for Greta Garbo. And she had something which you would call a salon, only it was without any pretension. Everybody liked to be there; everybody felt immediately at home. It was not very elegant, but very well--the house was with much taste. She wrote also a book about her life here which is called The Kindness of Strangers. I love this book. When I read it,

I wrote her what I admired most was what she left out. Because her discreetness was so great; the most interesting things she didn't write, although it would have been a great sensation here. It was a success, but nothing important. If she had written what she knew, she would have made the greatest sensation. And that she didn't do it is even a greater page in her life.

TAPE NUMBER: XXIII, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 27, 1975

WESCHLER: Okay, we were talking about Salka Viertel's salon. First of all, I should say that I was unable off tape to get you to reveal any of the things which she didn't reveal either, so that the discretion is equal on both of your parts. But who were some of the people who were part of this salon of hers?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, there came--everybody who was here was, ja. But you shouldn't call it "salon," because it was just that everybody felt at home in her house. But many were very famous. Isherwood was a great friend of hers, and Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann came, of course, and many of the movie great directors. Daniel Mann, I think, was one of the movie directors, and Homolka, and everybody who was here--Jean Renoir, John Houseman, Norman Lloyd, Chaplin.

WESCHLER: And among them was Brecht. You mentioned that Brecht was close friends with her.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Brecht, when he arrived here and I picked him up at San Pedro, he brought also a lady with him, who followed him from Denmark to Sweden and Finland and I don't know where; she came probably also to Russia, I don't know, and she was on the ship also. She lived here,

and she also worked for him as a secretary sometimes, and also they worked together because she was a very gifted writer. She never published anything, but she also had some ideas for Simone.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ruth Berlau. And she was later photographer for the plays; for all his plays in Germany and the Berliner Ensemble, she made all the photos (in the theater and outside and all the parts of the actors and so). And those books have been published then.

WESCHLER: What did she do here besides...?

FEUCHTWANGER: She was here and she just followed him. And now those people who always are gossiping--somebody asked me the other day, "Is it true that Brecht forced his wife to have her sleeping in the house, living in the house?" [laughter] And it was not true at all. For a while she lived by herself, and she lived also in the house of Salka Viertel.

WESCHLER: Who were some of Brecht's other friends here in town?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, the composers Hanns Eisler and Paul Dessau. Both are rather famous composers now. Dessau composed for Brecht, I think in Germany, the Lucullus [Das Verhör des Lukullus]. And Eisler The Measure Taken (Die Massnahme). And Fritz Lang. And Alfred Döblin and

Homolka and the actor Paul Henreid and his wife and Chaplin. I have to think, because it was the same people, mostly the same that we knew. We knew only that Thomas Mann and Brecht didn't go along very well. But Heinrich Mann, of course, was a good friend of Brecht, too.

And then she gave a big party for the seventieth birthday, I think, of Heinrich Mann.

WESCHLER: Who made the party?

FEUCHTWANGER: Salka Viertel, ja, in her house. It was long planned where to do it and why. I remember the fiftieth birthday of Heinrich Mann was in Munich. And the sixtieth was in Berlin when that photo [was taken]. The fiftieth was in Munich in a kosher restaurant that was famous for its cuisine. They had a very nice private room there. And there Thomas Mann spoke about him, but then for the sixtieth birthday, Thomas Mann was not in Berlin. And then here again he was. Then Thomas Mann got up and gave a long speech which Salka Viertel writes about--you should read this part, it's very interesting--a long speech about the achievement of Heinrich Mann. And I remember something which Salka did not mention; maybe also she was too tactful for that. (And both read. Thomas Mann read the whole speech. It was really a very literary speech; it could have been printed immediately.) Then Heinrich Mann got up and read out of his manuscript, "As you told just now

so beautifully..." He had also prepared even this sentence. [laughter] It was very funny. And then, what she writes about--I had all forgotten; after I had read it, it came back to me--then she says that I got up and spoke without being prepared about the wife of Heinrich Mann. She always was a little badly treated because she was what you call "a child of the people," you know; she was not so cultured like the others. She was always only--what shall I say?--allowed to be around. I got up and spoke about her and said that we have to thank her that Heinrich Mann came over--that he had to climb over the mountains, and that she almost carried him and with her advice and her tenderness encouraged him, that we all have to be grateful for that. And then she took both her hands before her face, and we all thought that she was very moved. But all of a sudden she took her hands off and was laughing. She had a red silken blouse on, and this blouse from laughing broke apart and you could see her bosom in a brassiere, in a beautiful embroidered brassiere. We were disappointed that she was not moved, but she was just laughing. She was very beautiful, had a beautiful face and blond hair and beautiful teeth and beautiful skin, complexion. She was a little fat, but Heinrich Mann loved that; all his women were fat.

WESCHLER: Okay, I want to come back to Heinrich Mann in

a minute. I just wanted to finish a couple of questions about Brecht first. Generally, I'm asking these questions about Brecht's friends because I'm curious generally about the state of Brecht's happiness here in Los Angeles.

Did he have friends? Was he...?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had lots of friends and admirers.

There was also his translator, Eric Bentley, one of the students sitting at his feet. He had always admirers around himself, but that was not what he wanted. He wanted most of all to make theater, that his plays should be performed, or that he could be director. And that just didn't happen. The only thing which he had was.... Also his wife had no possibility to play because she had a Viennese dialect, you know, pronunciation of the English. Sometimes she could play little parts about immigrants or something like that. And of course there was his poem which he wrote, that every day he goes to the market to sell himself.* So he was unsatisfied. But I couldn't say that he was unhappy, because he had always ideas and he had my husband who he liked very much and who he needed--both needed each other, I could say. But the only one who really did something for him was Fritz Lang, because he made a movie with him. But they were so disparate, you

*"Every morning, to earn my bread,
I go to the market, where lies are bought.
Hopefully
I join the ranks of the sellers."
--from "Hollywood"

know, that they couldn't go along very well. I remember when both were here once and they told us about their plans, it was Brecht who always went up and down the room and had his ideas, one good and one bad or so, and Fritz Lang said, "They wouldn't buy that," or "That I buy," or something like that. But it was so unsatisfactory that Brecht finally withdrew his name. And also he was disappointed that his wife had no part in the movie. But this was just not possible with her accent.

WESCHLER: What were some of the other possibilities that fell through in Hollywood? Were there any offers at all?

FEUCHTWANGER: What offers should there be? There was only this play which has been played here at the Coronet Theatre on La Cienega.

WESCHLER: Do you think that he would have left the United States irrespective of what the Un-American Activities Committee did?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he wouldn't [have left]. He bought a house he liked very much, his house which he made really right after his plans or so. He had a very large room--there were two rooms and he made one room out of two rooms--and had his old Chinese design, you know. He always took it with him: a man, very big, sitting in the lotus position and looking very wise, like all Chinese. And this man was always with him, this big Chinese; I think it was a

watercolor. And everything he liked very much. Helli was very skillful and made the chairs. She was covering the chairs, and she was putting wallpaper on the walls, and she was scrubbing the floor and everything she did: it was heartbreaking to see her, this gifted woman doing all this work, you know. But on the other hand, in every play, he always wrote a part for her. He admired her. He always said she's the greatest living actress. And also in Paris, she has been compared with [Eleonora] Duse.

WESCHLER: I take it he wasn't earning much money from his things. How was he able to live here in Los Angeles?

FEUCHTWANGER: First, I think he had still some money which he got in Russia from my husband's royalties. And then, later on, my husband wrote with him this play, Simone. And there was a man here who died in the meantime. His name was Jo Swerling, and he wrote Guys and Dolls, this famous musical. When he read the manuscript of Simone (it was called The Vision of Simone Machard), he was very enthusiastic and said that his friend Goldwyn has to make a film and he himself wants to make the screenplay. So he brought this manuscript to Goldwyn. But Goldwyn gave it back to him, and said he doesn't understand the whole thing, and neither does his wife who is very intelligent and always helped him choose films, stories. So that was a disappointment.

WESCHLER: We've talked about this part last time. About how Lion then made a book which Goldwyn did like and bought it. So he had that money.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, a good part of the money.

WESCHLER: Did he have help from the emigrés? Did some of them help?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, everybody helped him. First of all, Oskar Homolka and Fritz Lang and--I don't know--everybody who was somebody helped him, I think.

WESCHLER: Including, of course, Lion.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja.

WESCHLER: But it is your opinion that had it not been....

FEUCHTWANGER: Dieterle helped him also greatly. And then in another way he had help, because his girl [Barbara] had been sent into camp. She was a little weak in her lungs, and they had help from several associations here for the Emigration.

WESCHLER: What was his relationship to his children?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, it was very good. I remember only that his girl, who was about maybe fourteen years old then, she had a new red dress. And when he came home with his new old car, then he saw her standing before the house. And he became so angry, furious, because she was standing there, that he said, "You are standing here before the house

like a whore. Go in and take your red dress off!" And that was so funny because in his plays he is not so moral usually. [laughter] And then I remember that once he said to his boy [Stefan], who was the older one, he said, "You know, you have to learn. Don't be shy to study. It's very important. Knowledge is power." That was also for me very astonishing because he was always a little bit anti-intellectual; but that's what he said. And the son did it also. His son studied chemistry and made his doctorate in Miami. And then twice he visited me here, always with another girl. I think the last one was a Japanese (and I think he married also a Japanese girl, but I'm not quite sure). He has several children, and he came also with his children to East Germany. Helli told me that the children were very nice, but I have never seen the children.

WESCHLER: Brecht's children went with him to East Germany, then?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Oh, yes, Brecht's children, ja. Only the daughter. The son was always here because he studied in Miami. Also at first he couldn't go away because he was in the military age. Also he learned Japanese and he thought he would go into the foreign service or so, but then the war was over.

WESCHLER: Okay. I think we will catch up with Brecht again later, when we come to the Un-American Activities thing,

but we'll leave him for right now. As long as we did bring up Heinrich Mann, I would like to talk about him a little bit. In many ways, he's a similar situation, a very famous writer in Germany who came to the United States....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, in Germany, for a while, he was more famous than Thomas Mann.

WESCHLER: Then he came here and was ignored.

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely ignored. Only he always had a great sense of humor, and he always said his fame in America reposes on the legs of Marlene Dietrich--because she played in The Blue Angel. That was after his novel, Professor Unrat.

WESCHLER: Where did he live here?

FEUCHTWANGER: He lived first in Hollywood. I think it was on Sweetzer.

WESCHLER: Sweetzer Street. [Actually 301 South Swall Drive]

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and then when his wife died--she committed suicide--then Katia Mann asked him to come nearer, to live here in the neighborhood, and she found him a little apartment on Montana [2145 Montana Avenue, Santa Monica].

WESCHLER: Why did his wife commit suicide?

FEUCHTWANGER: She was drinking hard. She had very great difficulties to acclimatize herself here. She liked to live in France; I think she also had a boyfriend in France.

It was very hard for her to leave France. Here, it's a funny thing, she was not very--she learned so good French, you know, and here her only friend here was a French lady (and it looked a little bit like lesbian, but I don't know, from the French lady). And she drank hard, very hard--mostly wine, but too much. And then she had to drive and had to drive him. She also wanted to make some money, or she had to make it, because, of course, everybody helped. First from the European Film Fund he had support, and then Thomas Mann and my husband supported him. But my husband didn't support him directly: he gave it to the European Film Fund, and they gave it to him. He never knew that my husband did that; Lion didn't want that. But for a while she was pressing clothes in a cleaning business: that was the only thing she could do--she had learned nothing. And what she earned she always drank immediately. It was always gone. We had a very difficult time with her, because first she had always to go and get the check from the European Film Fund. And then one day she came to my husband and said to him, "Those Saujuden"--"Jewish swine"--"didn't give the check to us." And the same she told to her husband. And the same she told to her husband. And my husband had to find out what happened to the checks. They showed him the canceled checks, that she got the money. She had falsified the signature and bought herself wine.

WESCHLER: This must have been terribly difficult on Heinrich.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, it was terrible. He didn't know about it, so my husband had the terrible task to go to him and tell him about it. And Heinrich loved her, you know; he was really absolutely devoted to her, and he didn't want to hear that. Although we were so good friends, it was very--our relations became very cool, because he just didn't want to hear that. She had always accidents with the car because she was always drunk, and they found the wine always in the car. So every time she was arrested, because she had smashed another car or whatever, then she took sleeping pills in the evening so that they couldn't pick her up the next day. She was sent to the hospital, her stomach was pumped out, and then she was all right again. And once also she was sent to Camarillo [State Hospital], I think, for a cure. It always happened like that, that she evaded jail because she took sleeping pills.

One time it was the same thing again: she had no driver's license anymore, but notwithstanding she drove the car. Once she came here with young Hans Reichenbach (the son of the famous physicist Hans Reichenbach), who was her teacher for driving. He was also our gardener and all kinds--now he works with computers. He came with her, but without calling or something like that. All of a sudden they were there before the door. We were upstairs--my

husband was upstairs working and I was working in the garden. And downstairs there was the heating not on, because when nobody is downstairs, why should we heat it? And then she complained that it's so cold--and I had turned the heating on, of course--but everywhere she said, "You can't go to Feuchtwanger's; you freeze to death." And then she asked for something to drink. I always offered something, of course, when friends visited, but I didn't want her to drink because I knew she drove. But she asked something to drink. I brought some fruit juice, you know. Then I said, "I will bring you some alcohol, but you must promise me not to drive and let Hans Reichenbach drive." Then she shouted, "I don't promise anything, you Jewish cow!" or something like that. "I don't want to have to do anything with you! I have to sit here freezing." She was already blue, but from drinking--her nose was blue. So when she went away, it did not better, the relations. I tried always, I said, "But why do you speak like that to me? We were always going along so well. Remember from France and so?" But she didn't want to hear anything.

WESCHLER: You had been good friends in France?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, of course. She always said I'm the only one she likes, and the others didn't like her, and also Katia didn't like her, and she only likes me. So we were really good friends.

WESCHLER: Is it fair to say that the others did not like her? Is that true?

FEUCHTWANGER: Of course, they didn't like her when she drank. But they were polite to her. But she felt, of course, that she wasn't welcome. And then she left again. The next day Hans Reichenbach came and apologized about the whole thing. I said, "You cannot reckon with a drunk. I know what happened."

And then there was again an accident, she again took sleeping pills, and Heinrich Mann brought her with a taxi to the hospital. But they didn't admit her because he had no money with him. He'd [left his house] very fast, you know; he didn't have time. And they didn't accept the check. So he had to go to another hospital and to another hospital, and finally it was too late. But nobody knew exactly whether she really wanted to commit suicide, or was it just an accident that she couldn't be treated in time? But anyway he was terribly desperate, he was absolutely--you wouldn't have believed how he suffered from the loss of his wife. I also heard he never wanted to get rid of her clothes, always had to put his head into her clothes to smell the perfume and so. And when he was here at Montana, he was a little better, away from the little house where they lived. Also Katia found him a very good housekeeper, a very nice person; she came also from Europe.

And he was really well off in a way. He made walks around the block and so on. And we came regularly to see him. Thomas Mann never came to see him, but Katia Mann came. But we invited them sometimes together, and we were also invited to Thomas Mann's house when he was there. We always didn't come together, Lion and I, because we wanted that he has more company. So I came, and then the next day my husband came. Sometimes also the secretary came by; she lived also very near. And when he died, we were the whole night with him.

WESCHLER: Before we get to his death, was he doing any writing here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was doing some writing. I think it was a French revolutionary play. He also read once from this writing, but it wasn't finished. And then the Germans wanted him to come to East Germany. There is a very funny story of which nobody ever found out the real meaning. He has been offered the presidency in East Berlin. That's what he told us: They wanted him to become president of East Berlin.

WESCHLER: Of the East German Academy?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. They offered him the Wartburg (that is a very famous castle where Martin Luther wrote his translation of the Bible). That's what he said: his residence would be the Wartburg. But others said that

what was meant was the presidency of the Academy. But he imagined that he was to be president of East Germany. What was also logical because [Ignace Jan] Paderewski, who was the famous pianist from Poland, when he went back after the revolution in 1919, when the czar was no more alive, then he became president in Poland. Heinrich Mann thought the same thing would happen to him. But he was already too sick and too weak and he couldn't go. They sent him some money already; he had the money for the trip.

Another thing was that once the consul general from Russia was here. (They were not here anymore; the consulate was in San Francisco.) He came here to visit Heinrich Mann, to bring him some money what he said was due for the books which were printed. Anyway, nobody knew about how much was due, not even Heinrich Mann himself. But he gave him a big sum; I think it was \$6,000, what was a lot of money in those days. It would be about \$12,000 now. And he brought it not even with a check; he brought it in cash because, you see, he didn't want to embarrass him--that's what he said to my husband--with a Russian check. So he brought him the money, and he also gave a big party in Heinrich Mann's house, this consul general. (He came also to see my husband. When my husband wanted to accompany him to his car outside, he said, "But there is no car. I didn't want to embarrass you. My car is waiting

around the other block." So it was also with Heinrich Mann. He didn't want to embarrass anybody.) But when we arrived at this party, all the guests arrived, then the door was open, and there was standing Nelly Mann, naked, without anything on. [melancholy laughter] She was all drunk again. Then I went with her to the kitchen. (She was a very good cook, made a very good meal, but then she was drunk again.) I went to the kitchen where the brassieres were hanging--everywhere.

WESCHLER: This was on the eve of this big party here; they were about to have a party. Do you think that it was primarily the pressure of coming here that made her into a drunk, that she wasn't before, or...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, she always liked to drink, but I think it was the pressure also. She felt lonely here.

WESCHLER: How did Heinrich feel about his lack of recognition here in the United States?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a very great gentleman. He didn't speak about those things, you know; he never complained or so. The only thing what he once said was this with Marlene Dietrich. But it was also difficult: his German, his style is almost impossible to translate, doesn't make sense when you translate it. It was a kind of abstract style sometimes, or impressionistic. Very beautiful when you read it in German, very unique. Never anybody else has

written like that. It's his own style. But absolutely impossible to translate. That was the great...only The Blue Angel has been translated.

WESCHLER: You mentioned in passing Thomas Mann's relationship with him here in California.

FEUCHTWANGER: I think it was very good, but Thomas Mann had his own writing and his own--he didn't care very much about him, it seemed. But on the other hand, I remember when we were in Germany still, in Munich, at the Caspari gallery, someone once said that Heinrich Mann is the only great writer, and then Heinrich Mann was very angry and said, "You shouldn't say that about my brother." Also when they both had this birthday party--that's what Salka Viertel writes in her memoirs, when she said this was very funny, the whole thing--Bruno Frank said, "Yes, every ten years they do the same." [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, I suppose you should probably tell a little bit about the death scene.

FEUCHTWANGER: About what?

WESCHLER: You said you were with Heinrich Mann when he died.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, during the night we were there. But he was not much conscious, you know.

WESCHLER: What did he die of?

FEUCHTWANGER: Old age, I think.

WESCHLER: And grief?

FEUCHTWANGER: Grief was also, of course, from his wife. But mostly it was old age. He was not a strong man, and I think he was seventy-nine. In those days that was already old. Now it is not considered so old. Sometimes his legs were swollen and they had to drain out some water. So probably heart and kidneys failure or something like that. He had no pains. He just died, became weaker and weaker without pains.

WESCHLER: Okay. Well, we've talked a bit about Thomas Mann here, too, so maybe we might turn to talking about him here in the United States. I suppose that ever since Sanary your relations with Thomas Mann were better than they had been in Munich.

FEUCHTWANGER: In Munich we almost--I met him only once in Munich. That was at Caspari's, at one of those lectures. I remember also her mother, Mrs. Mann's mother, was a very beautiful woman--Mrs. Pringsheim, the wife of professor Pringsheim. She always asked me, "Where did you get your dresses? I would like that my daughter would be so well dressed as you are." [laughter] She was always very unsatisfied with her daughter that she didn't care about clothes and so on. She had so many children--that's what she told--and she never cared about clothes.

WESCHLER: Anyway, here in California, you were very good friends with the Thomas Manns.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh yes, ja, ja, very good friends. When my husband was writing on a new novel and they invited us for dinner, Mrs. Mann always asked him to bring his manuscript with him; and after dinner, with the mocha, he read out of his manuscript. And when they were here for dinner, then Thomas Mann brought his manuscript here.

WESCHLER: You read in the alternate camps.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: At this time, Thomas Mann was working on Doctor Faustus.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was finished already when he was here, because when it was printed, he brought the first book which came by plane--always the first book comes by plane from Germany--he brought it personally to my husband and wrote, "To Lion Feuchtwanger, who also still writes in German, from castle to castle."

WESCHLER: Mann was well known in the United States. He didn't have the same troubles that some of the others had.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was well known but not well read in those days. He was well known because he had the Nobel Prize. And he also came to Princeton where he lectured, I think. But his books were not very well read. The only one which really was a best seller in those days was The Magic Mountain. This was also--it is always guaranteed a best seller when it was in the Literary Guild or Book of the Month. [pause

in tape]

WESCHLER: Speaking of Thomas Mann and the Nobel Prize, there was an incident much later when Lion was apparently proposed for the Nobel Prize.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, first he was proposed after he wrote Jud Süß. He was invited in Sweden by the PEN Club and one of the people who have influence on the committee told him when he left, "I don't say goodbye to you because we will see you pretty soon, because you will get the Nobel Prize." And then, I think it was Hermann Hesse who got the Nobel Prize, recommended by Thomas Mann. And then, we never heard anything further. My husband has been even asked by the British encyclopedia to write about the Nobel committee and about the prizes. He wrote that with most of them he was very satisfied with the choice; some were not so satisfactory as others, but as a whole, it was always the right choice. He only was sorry about several people who did not get it; for instance, Anatole France didn't get it and everybody expected he would. Or also, Jakob Wassermann, which was absolutely thought he would get it. But in those days there was a kind of agreement that no Jewish writer became the Nobel Prize. Many Jewish scientists became it, but the first Jew who became the Nobel Prize as a writer was Pasternak, who wrote Dr. Zhivago. It was more or less a political kind of prize. Not the writer,

but the political personality. And then my husband got again a letter--it was shortly before his death--that he is again proposed for the Nobel Prize by many countries and by many people, and it would be probably for his seventy-fifth birthday. He died when he was seventy-four. Before that somebody wrote him that it has not gone through. Every writer who has received a Nobel Prize has a voice in the choice of the new writer, and when Thomas Mann has been asked, he said--that's what has been told; I don't know if it's true--that he thinks Lion Feuchtwanger is not representative of the German literature. But I have no proof of that. I just tell it like it has been told to us.

WESCHLER: It's a very German nationalist kind of sentiment.

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know.

TAPE NUMBER: XXIII, SIDE TWO

AUGUST 29, 1975

WESCHLER: Today we're going to continue with some stories about Thomas Mann. My sense is from conversations I've had off tape with you that Mann was perhaps even more overwhelmed by the experience of what was going on in Europe than the other refugees.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. It was because he felt in a way responsible as a German: that this Germany, which had brought forth the greatest composers, like Beethoven; the greatest thinkers, like Kant, Goethe, Lessing and so; that this Germany could fall down so terribly, he just couldn't come over it. We, as Jews, were more on the outside. We didn't feel the responsibility because we were outcasts, so we had no.... But he felt that as a German, he is one of them. Also his speeches that he made, his messages to Germany, were much more inflamed and much more passionate than those of the other writers, because he was the only one who really moved, could move with his messages. The others were more or less rhetorical messages, but I think his messages are really great documents.

WESCHLER: Do you think that it had something to do with the fact that he had been more conservative initially?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I don't think so. On the contrary, in

a way he had a bad conscience.

WESCHLER: That's what I mean.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, because once he wrote this book, Confessions of an Apolitical Man, and there he defended the First World War and also the emperor. Later on, it seems that he recognized his error; maybe that was the reason that he was so terribly upset about the whole thing, more than anybody else. Later on he changed completely, of course.

WESCHLER: How so?

FEUCHTWANGER: I mean he was on the side of the Emigration, not on the side of those who make war.

WESCHLER: I see, right. You mentioned off tape the phrase that there was no greater hate than a lost love.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was my impression.

WESCHLER: I understand that after the war he favored the division of Germany.

FEUCHTWANGER: That was already before, during, when he spoke about it when it was pretty sure that Germany would be defeated. Then he said that Germany should never have the power and the capability to make another war; and there is only one possibility to prevent that, and it is to divide the country. He was very passionate about this. My husband, who was a historian, saw this whole terrible thing of which he was himself a victim, more or less as

an interim of German history. Of course, later on, it was not 1,000 years, as Hitler pretended it would last, but only twelve years. So in this way my husband was right: he said you cannot judge a people by this, even though it is terrible, by this error which was made and which is a small error in the whole history of the people. So he didn't want that the country would be divided. He thought there must be other ways to prevent them from making war again. But naturally we all knew that after the First World War, which we thought was the war which ends all wars, they had been terribly punished with money which they had to pay in damages to France and also they were not allowed to make submarines and one of the borders of the Rhine was separated, was taken away for a while, at least. But then all his enemies allowed Hitler to take all that back. He could take the left part of the Rhine border, he could build new submarines, and everything was taken back. So that's why they said, "Nothing would help except to divide the country."

WESCHLER: How do you think that the German community in general split up on that issue? Do you think that most of them agreed with Thomas Mann, or with Lion?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't think there was much talk about it. In the end, I think they said it would be better to divide them because they really were afraid there would

be a great war of revenge or so. It is always difficult. For instance, when you think about the czar who was murdered with his whole family, we were all very upset about it; but on the other hand, if they had been outside of Russia, there was always the great danger that they would have come back and taken power again and [brought back] the terrible dictatorship which was under the czarist regime. So you can understand that, like in the French Revolution also, that even the terror which was there was there to defend the revolution.

WESCHLER: Right now I'd like to take an impressionistic survey of the general mood of the German community. First of all, was the German-speaking community one solid group, or were there an Austrian and a German group?

FEUCHTWANGER: There were more Austrians here than Germans. Of course, the Austrians were also in a way German, because most were writers in the German language. But it's a funny thing that the Austrians never liked the Germans very much and kept a very narrow, knitted circle by themselves. They saw each other almost daily, but when we came together with them, or Thomas Mann and we together, then it was only for rather big parties, but not a daily communication like we had with Bertolt Brecht or also with Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann also.

WESCHLER: Who were some of the Austrians which you're

speaking of?

FEUCHTWANGER: There were Fritzi Massary, the famous singer, and her daughter [Lisl], who was married with the German Bruno Frank. And there was--no, Bruno Walter was from Berlin, but he was considered to belong to the Viennese because he was a long time in Vienna and also a student of Gustav Mahler. But it was funny: there was no real near communication with most of them. There was Jan Lustig, who wrote for the movies; he was a Viennese. But there were, of course, lots of German authors. There was Leonhard Frank who was German; he also wrote for the movies. And the Dieterles, but they were not refugees; first, they were not Jewish, and also they were long before Hitler already here. He was a director in the movies, and he was the patron of all the emigrés and took care of them in any way, every way; I heard that he spent about half a million dollars to help the emigrés. On Christmas he went around with a car full to the brim with necessary and unnecessary luxury presents, and he was like St. Nicholas: he liked to give, he and his wife. There were lots of movie people here also; for instance, Homolka was also Austrian, and [Fritz] Kortner was also from Vienna, and Fritz Lang was from Vienna--really, when I think about it, there were mostly Viennese--the Schoenbergs, Tochs.

WESCHLER: I see. Before the war, before Pearl Harbor--I'd

like to begin by concentrating on that period--first of all, it seems to me from my reading that there were two main kinds of enterprises: of course, the major one was getting emigrés out of Germany and Austria; there was this desperate effort before the war, before America actually became involved. What were some of the ways in which you had to work on that in your daily life?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, there was this foundation which is called European Film Fund, which was founded by Lisl Frank, the wife of Bruno Frank, and Mrs. Charlotte Dieterle. And she was fantastic, as manager of the whole thing, and also she financed it greatly. What I should stress also was that the whole film people did so much for it, and nobody ever spoke about it. The whole thing was really financed by the film people. And nobody even thought--all those people who gave, they didn't even think that they did something special, you know. Nobody speaks about it; I'm always upset that they have no more recognition.

I know also, for instance, that Chaplin has been a little bit in contempt by the others because he didn't give officially. Of course, when somebody gave officially for the fund, it could be deducted from the taxes. But he said, "When I want to give, I don't want to have it in the newspapers. I don't want to have any kind of publicity." But he gave a lot of money, and I know about it because--and

nobody knew about it, and many resented it. For instance, the actor [Edward G.] Robinson also told me once, "We are very upset that Charlie Chaplin is not with us to do more for the emigrés." I told him that he is doing it, only that he does it by himself, privately. I know, for instance, he had these big parties.... It was wonderful: his butler always called me and said, "Mr. and Mrs. Chaplin would be delighted to see you on such and such day." (He was a very old butler, and he didn't do very much, wasn't good for anything anymore. But they didn't want to turn him out, so they had another butler who did the work, and he did only telephoning. That they were delighted.)

For instance, he engaged Hanns Eisler, who composed for him for the movies; but Chaplin himself was a composer and had very good, very popular melodies always ready. Eisler, of course, was a serious composer, and they went along very well because they liked each other very much. But when this one movie (I think it was Limelight) has been made--and it took a very long time; we always thought it would never be finished--he wanted always to change things; he had certain melodies in mind. Then Eisler told him, "You know, Charlie, either you compose or I, but I couldn't do that together with you, even with all my friendship and admiration for you." Then Chaplin said, "Oh, that's all right; I make it myself." But he paid Hanns

Eisler the same monthly pay as if he would work for him. And they were always very near friends. And always there. His wife [Lou Eisler] was a good friend with Oona. I remember that Oona once said to Eisler's wife, "You know, it's so wonderful to be married and to be in love. I am always in love with my husband, and I only could advise everybody not to marry for money, just for love." She was so young and very naive still. The only thing which was not right in their--the only thing I saw where they were of different opinions was that she wanted always a convertible, and Chaplin didn't want it. And nobody found out why. Mrs. Eisler always said, "You should insist, if you want a convertible, that he buys one for you." But I think Chaplin was not so young anymore, and maybe he thought that when he is driving this car, he could get a stiff neck or something like that in the damp climate here or so. But he never admitted that. He just said, no, he doesn't want a convertible. That was the only thing; they were so happy together. He always said, "Oh, it's so beautiful to be married to a woman who has so much sense of humor." And they worked also together. She typed for him and so. Sometimes, when we came there, they were just working on the terrace and he dictated to her.

And he also--that's what I wanted to tell you--I found out when there were these big parties, and somebody

was called, you know, called out with the name coming, and when he heard that a certain person would arrive, he got up and went to the door and brought this person in. You could see he had the preferential treatment. And then I knew that this person has been helped greatly by him. He just didn't want--he wanted that this person would be at ease, that nothing is different even if he gives money. I think that was a great attitude.

WESCHLER: Was he a frequent guest here at this house also?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, very often.

WESCHLER: Did he often mime and so forth?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, it was wonderful. Once we were at the house of Lewis Browne, I think was his name--he was an American writer. This Lewis Browne came once to Sanary to see my husband because he was such a great admirer of Jud Süß, of Power, that he wanted to meet him. He wrote a letter and asked if my husband would allow to see him, and he came there with his wife. Then, when we were here, he gave a big party also in our honor. He was also a friend of Chaplin, and Thomas Mann was there, and many other people. Then Chaplin told about his new idea of a new movie--that was Monsieur Verdoux--and he began to play that. You know, Monsieur Verdoux was a kind of Bluebeard. He came with a woman into his house, a small house which was not his real house, only where he received the women.

Then they sit together and eat dinner, and then it's dark; the next morning he comes out and looks at the roof of the house, and there comes some smoke out. Everybody knew what that means, of course. There are no words spoken: he just looks at the smoke. Then he goes inside and sets the table for breakfast, and by mistake puts two cups, coffee cups, and then he puts one back. It's all mime, you know; all that he mimed also for us. It was fantastic. You lived through that. You saw the cup and all that. It was really fantastic. But I told you, I think-- did I tell you about this story when it was really played, and Thomas Mann?

WESCHLER: No.

FEUCHTWANGER: Really not? When it has finally been finished, we were invited to the premiere, and then there was a big party at Charlie's house, so big that they had to have a tent also for the people. But I thought I told you that.

WESCHLER: Try it.

FEUCHTWANGER: And then he wanted us--Thomas Mann and his wife, Aldous Huxley and his wife, and we had to sit in a special room, at a special table. And he came sometimes when he made the rounds with his guests, and he told to me, "Oh, I am so happy that the most famous people are sitting here at this one table." But he didn't realize that Thomas Mann and Aldous Huxley were frozen by contempt

or displeasure--dislike--because they didn't like the movie. Only we liked it really. We admired it greatly. I think it is his most artistic movie. It is not so humorous like others, but it is very artistically made. But they disliked to make fun out of so many murders or so. So they were sitting, very cold. They just didn't move. There was no smile on their face. And Chaplin was so happy that he didn't realize their attitudes.

WESCHLER: Well, you have not told that story. Was Chaplin himself an intellectual?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was an intellectual, but a self-taught intellectual. He read a lot and he knew a lot, but it was everything--his judgment and so was very personal and not everyday. But he liked to hear; when my husband was of another opinion, he could listen. It was also possible to persuade him if he was not right.

WESCHLER: He was very open, in other words?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was very open. He was very liberal, and he had always difficulties for his politics.

WESCHLER: We'll talk about that more later on. I'm curious beyond that about what kinds of things he talked about with people like Mann and your husband and so forth.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, you know, with Mann he had not much connection. They were too much in awe between both of them. Mann admired him and he admired Mann, but he was a little

shy with Mann. But with us and with Hanns Eisler and so, he took his hair down (I think you say it like that). He liked so much to be invited here in this house. I cooked myself, and he told me he never ate such a good duckling than in my house; he wanted to have my recipe. He always sent beautiful flowers or presents the next day, and he wrote a letter and thanked me. But he never could recover from this beautiful duckling which was "crisp outside and soft inside." [laughter] And because I did it myself, the cooking, so he invited us once, only my husband and me, and he did the cooking. It was on a Thursday where the whole personnel of the kitchen were going out, had the day off. He was cooking with a very high hat, you know--he must have had that from the movies--a very high, white hat. He dressed absolutely like a cook. He cooked and Oona had to serve. Then we were sitting together, and here was a duckling. [laughter] But he also invented certain dishes. For instance, the first time I ate at his house--but later on it was known--he served avocados with lobster inside. That was his invention. Later on it was done by others, but he was the first one who did it.

Then he told us a very funny story about [Douglas]

Fairbanks, who was his best friend. Chaplin was one of the first who was in China in those days. He made a big trip over the whole world. And he came back and said to Fairbanks how beautiful it was and that he also even learned to speak Chinese. And then Douglas Fairbanks said, "It's not possible in this short time that you could learn to speak Chinese." And Charlie said, "I will prove it to you." He went to the kitchen where he had a Chinese cook, and he came back with the cook. Then he told the cook [in Chinese] what to bring, and the cook brought the right thing. So he said, "Do you believe it now?" And Fairbanks said, "Of course I believe it now. He brought the thing which you asked him." But, of course, Chaplin didn't know a word of Chinese. He just went out to the kitchen and told the cook to bring that, not to answer or anything, just bring it. Then he made the sounding, you know, he made it sounding like Chinese. And Douglas Fairbanks went to his death without ever knowing the truth. [laughter] He did the same thing in Italy, in Venice, on the San Marco Place. He mounted on a table and began to speak to the people, big, like the Roman people at the Forum. The people were around standing there and applauding, and it was a great fiesta; he jumped down and it was even better. Then he told me--he made that. He showed us how he did it and it really sounded Italian. But there was not a word Italian, because my husband and I,

we speak Italian. He just made the sound.

WESCHLER: Was this at the time of Mussolini in Italy?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I think so. And when he came here, about two years or three years ago, he was here to get his footprint [in the pavement outside Grauman's Chinese Theater]. And Walter Matthau gave a party for him, a very private party where was not allowed any newspaper or television or so. I was there already when he came in, and then there was really kind of two rows of people who were just watching us, how we went to each other. And very slowly--I don't know how it was, it became so slowly--he came toward me and he embraced me and kissed me and had tears in his eyes. (Somebody made a photo out of it. The next day it was in the newspaper; Joyce Haber wrote about it, said I was there with the others.) Then I reminded him of this Italian speech, and he began immediately again to speak like Italian. He was so glad: he said he never thought about it anymore, and he was so glad that I reminded him of that.

WESCHLER: Had The Great Dictator been made in the thirties, or was it in the forties that he made that? Did you see it for the first time here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I saw it with my husband in New York.

WESCHLER: Did that have a very big impact, I would guess, on the emigrés?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, enormous. It was very much admired. It was an enormous success. There was one thing--oh, yes, I remember now. Chaplin was there also in New York when we saw it, and he invited us; and the daughter of the ambassador of America to Berlin came with us also, I remember--Marta Dodd. [William E.] Dodd was ambassador and his daughter [Marta] came with us and Chaplin. We all were together. My husband was a little doubtful about it. He admired it greatly, this movie, but at the end Chaplin makes a long speech, and my husband thought without the speech it would have been better. It was a speech about humanity, humanism, things like that. He said that everything is shown so much, and it didn't need a speech at the end. But Chaplin took it so seriously, he wanted to leave a message with the film. Oh, it's so beautiful, this film. I love this film.

WESCHLER: Did Chaplin talk politics directly about Hitler?

FEUCHTWANGER: Only politics. Most of the time he spoke about politics. Also here, you know. He had great misgivings against the Un-American Committee, and then he had those terrible times: he was accused that he made a child for an actress. And this was very simple: he never made the child. It was Hedda Hopper who brought it out, the columnist.

WESCHLER: The gossip columnist.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and she was.... I don't know if she was in love with him, but he told me--only to me and nobody else--that once, when he went into his car (he had a chauffeur) and went home, there was Hedda Hopper in the car, in the rear seat. She wanted to come with him into his house. He didn't like her--he disliked her greatly--and he didn't take her in the house. So that's why she was so vengeful. That's what he told me. She brought this out with this young actress [Joan Barry], that he made her a child and that he had to pay for the alimony. And he told us, my husband and me, that it was Mr. [J. Paul] Getty who made the child. It was also known that she came to, I don't know, Dallas or somewhere, and visited Mr. Getty. And Mr. Getty--I don't know if I should even say that; maybe you should eradicate that--Mr. Getty was married, and it seems that he had an affair with this girl. And because he was married and he didn't want any scandal, he said, "Chaplin isn't married, so we'll just say that Chaplin did it." Anyway, there was a blood test, and it was negative: he couldn't have made the child. But nevertheless he was condemned to pay the alimony. I always told him, "You know, I'm not sorry for you that you pay the alimony. I'm only sorry that the truth didn't come out. This girl is poor and she needs the money probably, and since Mr. Getty didn't give her the money, somebody has to pay."

[laughter] He said that this girl was very talented, and he wanted to make her a good actress, like he did with Goddard, you know. Before he married her, he taught her how to act. In Modern Times. He thought she would have the kind of talent, and he wanted to make her a great actress for his movies. And once he came home and she stood there. Since she bribed the butler, whatever it was, the butler let her in. But he didn't know it. He came home, and she stood there behind the door with a gun and wanted him that he marries her. But he finally talked her out, and so they were reconciled. But he disliked her from then on. And she went then to Hedda Hopper and asked her to help her.

WESCHLER: I see. Getting back to Brecht, were Chaplin and Brecht friends at all?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very good friends, ja, ja. I think Eisler brought him--I don't know--but anyway we were together when Brecht came the first time to Chaplin. Brecht was such an admirer of Chaplin; he was really enthusiastic about him. And since Eisler and my husband said that Brecht was a great writer, Chaplin had to believe it, because he knew only about the Threepenny Opera, which was not a success in those days. (When it was the first time, it fell through here.) So he believed it, and he also had a good impression of Brecht.

WESCHLER: Was there any talk of collaboration between the two of them at any point?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, none at all. Brecht would have very much liked it, but Chaplin couldn't collaborate with anybody. He was too much of a personality; he could only do it alone.

WESCHLER: I see. I believe once you told me that you had dinner at the Chaplins' every New Year's or something?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that's true. New Year's we were always at Chaplin's. And then he invited us very often into restaurants, because he wasn't married in those days. He liked to go to La Rue's. It doesn't exist anymore, it was on the [Sunset] Strip. It was the best restaurant in those times; they were Italians and very good. He always reserved a room in the rear so we could be without any disturbances, with other friends also. Sometimes he invited us--here on the coast there was a place, Chez Roland, it was called. And it was very expensive. And since he always invited us, my husband wanted to invite him and his wife. But he didn't allow that my husband pay for it. He said, "You know, I am a movie mogul and you are a literary mogul. There is a great difference, financially, so I pay for the literary mogul."

WESCHLER: Okay. [pause in tape] So it was later on that Chaplin married Oona. Who was she?

FEUCHTWANGER: She was the daughter of [Eugene] O'Neill, but she lived with her mother who was here. Mrs. O'Neill was divorced from O'Neill, and before he died, he married another woman. He was terribly upset that his daughter married Charles Chaplin. He thought he's a liberal and has a bad name, too many women in his life or so; but O'Neill also married and was divorced. Anyway, he disinherited the daughter in every way, spiritually and financially.

WESCHLER: Well, after this delightful interlude of Chaplin, let's return to the period before the war began, here in the emigré community. I was asking about what kinds of activities were going on to get people out of Europe. We talked a little bit about raising funds. Were there also affidavits to be gotten?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was, I think it was for affidavits. But the most important thing was that they had to have a job. They were not allowed, even with an affidavit, to come in if they didn't have a job, at least for a year. So there was a guarantee that every writer who comes here has been at the movies for one year, working for the movies. And I remember that some were very upset. My husband also has been asked, but he said he would never go himself to the studio: if they want something written by him, he wants to do it at home. But also he didn't want to take it away from other writers. He didn't need that, because

he had his books here published and the others were very much in need of it. [Alfred] Döblin was very funny: he always complained that he has to sit there--you know, they had always to sit there--and write something. And then came...I think it was [Louis B.] Mayer or somebody, the famous movie mogul, and he looked in if they're really working. Heinrich Mann was also there, who was such a dignified person. Heinrich Mann was very glad when he was finally allowed not to come anymore, but he still got his check. And Döblin also. Nobody ever has written anything. They just had no idea how to do something, a script; they had never done that before. But some of them were very successful. For instance, George Froeschel: he was a Viennese and was before in Berlin a director of the Illustrated Zeitung, the very famous illustrated periodical. And he came here and was immediately very successful. He wrote Mrs. Miniver, what became an Oscar also. And he was very much in demand. Another was Alfred Neumann. I think he wrote also for a while for the movies--besides this first year, you know--and Leonhard Frank. And then [Fritz] Kortner, who could not play because he was Viennese and had so much accent. First they used those actors with accents to play Nazis, you know, because they do that very good, very well. For instance, Otto Preminger: I would never--I heard him once on the radio playing in a play and

it was just fantastic how he could make this Prussian accent, this very sniding way of speaking. He was a Viennese also and sounds gemütlich, as you would say, in actual life. But finally there were no plays anymore with Nazis, so they could not find any employment. And Kortner began to write scripts by himself. And he was very successful also as a scriptwriter.

WESCHLER: There were also composers who were very important in the films.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. I think your grandfather [Toch] composed also for the movies. And [Erich] Korngold and Eisler.

WESCHLER: Were some more successful than others there also?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know because mostly the names were not--I think nobody cared about having the name printed in those days. I know that Eisler had a rather big success with None but the Lonely Heart, a play by Clifford Odets. It was a great success. And I think also Werner Richard Heymann wrote music.

WESCHLER: You mentioned one man who is of great interest, Döblin.

FEUCHTWANGER: Döblin was a great writer, really. But he was very bitter. He had also had a very terrible experience because one of his sons had to be in the French

army--as prestateur (when foreigners went into the army, they had a special formation and were called prestateurs)--and one of the sons disappeared, must have been killed. The other was missed a long time ago. One returned, I think, but one son was lost. And he couldn't get over it; mostly his wife couldn't. It was a very unhappy life for Döblin. His wife was so desperate for having lost her son. And also they didn't have much money. His books were written in a way that was difficult to translate. His language is so difficult.

WESCHLER: Had you known him in Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course, very well.

WESCHLER: What was he like in Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Berlin, he was a doctor. He was a psychiatrist and lived in the suburb near the slums. He was very poor because he was not a doctor who would make big bills. Also in this part where he lived, nobody could pay a psychiatrist. He was always in the streetcar and wrote his novels on his shirtsleeves.

WESCHLER: Shirt cuffs.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. They were stiff in those days. There in the streetcar he wrote his novels mostly. He went always to poor people who he treated and never made much money. With his best novels he didn't make much money. One was a Chinese novel, The Three Jumps of

Wang-lun [Die drei Sprünge des Wang-lun]. Then he wrote a novel which was very much influenced by the English....

WESCHLER: James Joyce.

FEUCHTWANGER: Joyce, ja. This novel had a great success, and all of a sudden he had money.

WESCHLER: This was Berlin Alexanderplatz.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that's it. And he went then from this poor slum part of Berlin, to the best part of Berlin, Kaiser Damm. He had a big apartment, very well furnished and so. But then he had no success anymore, all of a sudden. He always said that that was a kind of the revenge of life [for his having] left this part where he was helping people and now living in this luxurious surrounding.

WESCHLER: In Berlin, was he by nature not a bitter man? I mean was that something that came later?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was already bitter in Berlin, because that was a little bit in his way. He was very ironical, and he always thought that people wouldn't think good of his work. My husband wrote the first very enthusiastic article in the Weltbühne about him. But later he said, "Your husband told once he didn't think well of my novel." We couldn't prove it because we didn't have the review. It was really the greatest, the most enthusiastic critic you could imagine.

WESCHLER: It's interesting. Katia Mann tells a very similar

story in her oral history about Thomas Mann [Unwritten Memories].

FEUCHTWANGER: When he was here.... There were a lot of people sometimes here, and you know how receptions are: people don't sit, usually they stand around. But he was very bitter and always said, "I don't like that this is a stand-tea." (We always served tea like in Europe.) "It's a stand-tea, not a sitting-tea," he always said. [laughter] He could always find something which was critical. But my husband liked him very much and I too. In a way he was very witty and nice; maybe everybody knew that he had reasons to be bitter.

WESCHLER: How was he supported?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was also with the--I believe I told you....

WESCHLER: At the movies for a while.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But he never wrote anything.

WESCHLER: What happened after that?

FEUCHTWANGER: After that he still was supported, I think, by the European Film Fund. He wrote novels by himself which were not printed, and he was very unhappy because his wife was always so depressed, melancholic. Sometimes he went as a visitor to Santa Monica to Professor Reichenbach. And that was for him a great time when he could stay there. Because also he lived in [a place in] Hollywood which got not much sun; he could sit in the garden there.

He also read to us his latest novel. It was about the First World War. I don't remember the title anymore; also I wouldn't know if it has an English title [Bürger und Soldaten, 1918]. He went back to Europe very soon, and he became Catholic. He said that the French helped him. Yes, the French even gave him a high military position or something like that. So he got a pension from France.

WESCHLER: Did he stay in France then?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he was in Germany and became Catholic.

WESCHLER: Did his popularity increase in Germany after the war?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not much. But after he died, he has been printed more. He was also a great influence on Günter Grass; in The Tin Drum, you can feel the influence of Döblin. Then he was very sick and died miserably, a very long time, very sick. I think something with a skin disease or something.

WESCHLER: You just mentioned Hans Reichenbach, the physicist and philosopher. Was he a central figure in the community?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't think he was central; he also was so much occupied by his work, he didn't mix so much with others. I think he was a good friend of your grandfather [Toch]. But I didn't think that he had more--they were more with professors of universities than emigrants; I never remember any except for Döblin and also Brecht, and maybe

also Hanns Eisler. I never saw him with anybody else in his house.

WESCHLER: Did he talk physics and so forth just in daily conversation?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, but it's a funny thing. With my husband he spoke very much about his work. He also said that sometimes he disagrees with [Albert] Einstein, who was his friend. But on several things he had another opinion. That's all I know about his work.

WESCHLER: I understand he had a fairly tragic family life. Do you know anything about this?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I only know that his son-- he had only one son who was a poet and a dreamer and couldn't work, couldn't learn very much. All kinds of things he tried: he was a gardener.... But, for instance, he told me once--he also worked for me (I didn't expect much of results from his gardening but I liked him personally, and I wanted to help him)--that neighbors of ours where he worked have made a whole new garden, and the man expected that he takes out the weeds before he plants the new plants or flowers. The flowers had to be planted, you know, in rows, very orderly. And he said, "I don't think that the flowers like that, to be planted like soldiers." It didn't last long, you know, his work in this manner. And then he taught also driving. Mrs. Heinrich Mann was one of

his pupils.

WESCHLER: I would hope she was not his best pupil.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. But Lord [Bertrand] Russell was a great friend of his father, and he invited him, after the death of his father, to England. He was a long time in the house of Lord Russell, who is a very rich man and a very great man in every way, as a scientist and as a writer. It seems that he got an interest in computers there, because when he came back, he studied computerism, or whatever you call that, and he's still working as a computer man. It seems that he is doing all right. He married a black girl [Clara]. He liked to dance; he always dances those square dances. Sometimes I meet him at a concert and am astonished that he looks--he is not old, or he doesn't look old, but for me he was always the little boy who didn't want to take the weeds out. "Because the weeds also want to live," he said to me. [laughter]

TAPE NUMBER: XXIV, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 29, 1975

WESCHLER: We've been talking about the emigré community, several of the people in it, and also the early years of the community. One of the things I'm interested in exploring is how the emigrés felt about the cooperation they received from the United States government in getting affidavits. Did you feel that the United States government made it more difficult than was necessary for getting affidavits?

FEUCHTWANGER: They not only did that, they refused to let them in. Because they said the quota was already--there was a quota in those times, and the quota was already filled, and people have to wait until a new quota is coming. But Hitler didn't wait for that.

WESCHLER: Was there a lot of resentment here among the emigrés about that?

FEUCHTWANGER: The funny thing is that there was not, because they were here and were happy and they didn't think so much about those who couldn't come. Many people didn't want to think about it. So it was also when we were invited by Fritz Lang, he was very enthusiastic about it--although he was here much earlier and didn't know so much about what happened in Europe until later,

when it was almost too late, and then really too late-- he knew. But then he found that you have to be very grateful to America that they took us in. I said I cannot feel like that because I have seen the people, and there were many more who were not let in. "We have only been accepted here because all of us had a name: my husband had a name, you had a name. For instance, there were people who could adapt to agricultural work, but they just didn't open the door which they should have done." For instance, France did. Everybody could go to France. It is in the French constitution since the revolution in France that everybody who wants refuge can come in. I don't say they were very well treated when they were in, but at least they were not killed (except when Hitler came later). But here, there just was not done enough, I found. I saw those people standing in line for days and around the blocks at the American consulates, and they didn't let them in. They didn't give them a visa. I remember also that when we were taken in by the American vice-consul [Bingham], he came always very depressed after the office because--we didn't dare to ask him; he just didn't speak, and sometimes he said, "I have to take a walk." One day he said he just can't stand it anymore to refuse all those refugees their visa; they were not allowed to give any new visas anymore. And the

consul general [Hurley] from America (Bingham was only a vice-consul), he told me, "We don't want those emigrés or refugees; they only spoil our good relations with the Vichy government." Bingham asked us not to tell anybody that we stayed with him, because the consul general shouldn't know. But one day when I was alone in the house, there rings the bell. I opened the door, and there was the consul general from America. He brought some what they always send to the consuls, some things what they couldn't get anymore (for instance, some cookies and oil and butter and cereal, whatever it was). I opened the door and he gave me the package. Thus it came out that we were living there. At first Bingham was a little bit taken aback, but then he said he has not the intention to stay anyway anymore in the diplomatic service because he just couldn't stand it anymore. He also left later.

WESCHLER: Who do you blame for that policy in the United States?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was mostly Cordell Hull, I think. You can read it also in the book by Mr. Lash, the book about Eleanor and Franklin. And there Mrs. Roosevelt herself speaks about it, that her husband was sometimes a little impatient when she said, "We should do more," because he thought everything has been done already. But the lower echelons always sabotaged it, and then Cordell Hull was at

the State Department--he should have done it, of course--
he sabotaged it, too. That's what Mrs. Roosevelt says.

(She speaks also about her correspondence with me.)

WESCHLER: So, anyway, you and Fritz Lang argued about this.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. I said I cannot be so enthusiastic
about it because I just cannot forget what I have seen.

He was rather angry with me, so I didn't continue. I
didn't want to have a clash with him, so I finally was
quiet. But Homolka was standing behind him and encouraged
me with gestures. He didn't say anything because he didn't
want to spoil his relations with the great director Fritz
Lang.

WESCHLER: What was Homolka like? We haven't talked about
him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was a fantastic person. He is still
a fantastic person. Not only is he one of the greatest
actors I ever have seen. But also he is very natural. He
always said that he comes from the slums of Vienna, from
the Schmelz, as he said. [laughter] (The way he pronounced
it, already in his pronunciation it was known that only
a proletarian could say this word, pronounce this word.)
But it was funny: he always married very rich. And it
was not that he married for money. First he was married
with Grete Mosheim, who was a famous actress also here.
And then she went back and is in Munich now. They divorced.

And he went to England. He was not Jewish. He could have stood--the Nazis would have very much welcomed him if he would have--but he didn't want to stay in Europe, in Germany and then in Austria. He was a great friend of Brecht also. He played the first performance of Edward II, which is also a story by itself. So he went to London, and there he met a very beautiful woman who was, I think, a countess from Hungaria [Baroness Wally Hatvany]. She was very rich, and they were not married very long when she died by an infection or so. And he was heartbroken. He didn't stay anymore--he didn't want to stay in London--and he went to Washington. And he met on the street--I think he met Berthold Viertel. Berthold Viertel said, "What are you doing here?" He said, "I don't do anything. I don't want to do anything. I cannot go over the death of my wife." And then Berthold Viertel said, "Let's go and eat together." And then he invited a very beautiful girl. At first Homolka didn't want to speak with her, but finally they were good friends. She was the daughter [Florence] of Eugene Meyer, who is the founder of the Washington Post, the owner and the boss, and also the president of the World Bank--one of the very rich men here. So he married again a rich girl. They had a very good marriage, for a long time, but then he began to drink. I think he was not satisfied with his [career] as an actor here. He had not enough to do. He

was a character actor, and there was not much for him to play. He played also in War and Peace. I think he was by far the best actor in [the 1956 version of] Tolstoy's War and Peace; he played Kutuzov, one of the generals. And then finally they divorced, and Mrs. Homolka died very young here. The other day I was invited somewhere in Stone Canyon, a very beautiful house, and there somebody called me from the swimming pool; somebody was swimming there. That was his son, Homolka's son. He said, "Do you remember me? I am Homolka's son." I said, "No, I don't remember. I knew you as a little boy." Now he was married. How could I remember him? [laughter] And then Homolka married a very beautiful girl again [Joan Tetzell]. She was an actress also. They are very happy. They are mostly in London. He was a wonderful friend. When he knew that my husband wasn't well, he came here with a big package of caviar, this caviar which is so rare--it was not salted, very big grains, and gray: not black and not salted. This is very rare, you know, because it does not keep when it is not salted, or very little salted. So my husband had to eat all the time caviar because even in the icebox it doesn't keep long. But Homolka wanted always to do this kind of thing.

WESCHLER: Okay. Should you maybe tell us "the story in itself" about Homolka and Edward II? What happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, it's a little bitter story, but I think it's well known. The first night of Edward in Munich, he played Mortimer, who is the man who married the queen. It was a wonderful part, and Brecht was very happy that he played this part. He was still a young actor and not so well known. So somebody brought him a bottle of brandy--I think it was Brecht himself--to make him courage or so. He drank the whole bottle--he didn't realize--and he was stone drunk. He was sitting there and just--he couldn't even speak anymore on the throne. But the people didn't realize; they thought it's part of his part. I was sitting in the box with the director of the theater, Dr. Falckenberg, and he said, "Do you think I should let fall the curtains now?" But then people behind the scene gave him black coffee. It was just fantastic, but the audience didn't realize that he was so drunk.

WESCHLER: It came out fantastically afterwards?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Brecht didn't speak with him. And he also didn't come to the party which I told you about. He couldn't come to the party. It was not his fault. He was young and excited. He had--what do you call it?--stage fright, and he just drank to make himself more courage; he didn't realize how bad it was. But later on he did a lot for Brecht, you know. He helped enormously in every way. He brought him furniture and what they needed and not

needed.

WESCHLER: And they were close friends here.

FEUCHTWANGER: Very close friends. Homolka had also a beautiful house here--it was a mansion, you could call it, a big mansion--where you even didn't see the swimming pool. It was an enormous lawn with beautiful flowers and plants. For the swimming pool we had to go behind the house higher up, and there was the swimming pool, separated from the other gardens. (I think always the swimming pool makes a hole into the garden. I like little lakes or so, you know, little pools which are not so artificially blue, a fish pool or so.) But I liked that very much. This I found wonderful, that the swimming pool was not below the house. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Before we leave the question of trying to get emigrés out, are there some people in particular who you want to mention who you tried to get out and were not able?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. For instance, one little thing (but it was not an important person): a brother [Fritz] of my husband and his family went on a ship to America. They were on the ship already. He was for a short time in a concentration camp, and my husband paid for him so he could get out. For two brothers he paid [Fritz and Ludwig were in Dachau]. There was great bribing.

WESCHLER: Bribing who?

FEUCHTWANGER: The Nazis. They were also in danger, of course, through the name of my husband. But this brother was with his family on the ship, and they didn't let him coming out of the ship. Then they went to Cuba. There he could go out and live for a while; later on he was allowed to come to New York. But I heard that some ships--I don't know if there is proof--I heard positively that they didn't let people in and the ship went back to the Nazis. I don't know that. Dr. Heifetz told me that, Milton Heifetz. But I still don't believe it. But anyway so many people were lost and came to Auschwitz. All those people I saw on the street, around the blocks, they all got no visa anymore. I know also from Miss Waldo, the secretary of my husband--she was in Berlin and it was the same: the American consulate didn't give them any visas. Without visa they didn't get an exit visa. Only when you had an American entry visa could you get an exit visa.

WESCHLER: Did you know here during the war what was going on in Germany? Were there rumors of the camps and so?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, we knew a lot. Not as much as we knew after the war, but we knew a lot about the tortures and all that. But we didn't know about the Auschwitz gas ovens. That we heard only later.

WESCHLER: Did you suspect that millions of people were

being killed?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, we knew that.

WESCHLER: How did you know those things?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, there was a newspaper, the Aufbau, which is a German-American newspaper in New York, and there you could read about it. Because there were Swiss people who knew about it, and also, at first, the Austrians (Austria was only invaded in '38, you know; from '33 to '38 it was still free). So we knew from those people who escaped from Austria, we heard a lot of what happened. Then we heard about the many people who lost their friends; whole families have been annihilated, and we knew some of the relatives. A sister of my husband has died in Theresienstadt.

WESCHLER: In these cases, did you know that the people had been killed, or did you just know they had been sent to camps?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, we knew that they had been killed, but we didn't know that they had been gassed. We knew they have been killed; we knew also they have been tortured, and in a terrible way tortured. I knew also from relatives of mine in Munich that before the eyes of the mother, they did this--what do they call this?--took his genitalia and...

WESCHLER: Castrated him.

FEUCHTWANGER: ...tore it out, not just cut it. Before the

eyes of the mother. So all those things we knew. There were many people who escaped only in '38. So they had known a lot of what happened. But about Auschwitz, people didn't know. Not even the Germans knew about it. They thought it's just a working camp. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: You said that you mainly found out things like that through the Aufbau. Did the American press cover those kinds of details also?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not so much.

WESCHLER: Isn't it strange that the Americans--I mean, any American journalist who could read the Aufbau would....

FEUCHTWANGER: But the Aufbau was German.

WESCHLER: Well, presumably some Americans could read German. Why didn't it get printed in American press?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very few, very few know German.

WESCHLER: Did Americans believe you when you told them the stories?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, of course. But we didn't know exactly what happened. We only knew that people have been killed. And also some have been kidnapped, you know, from Switzerland. This case of this man--[Bertold] Jacob, I think was his name. It was over the whole world when he was kidnapped. And finally the Swiss insisted that he be brought back to Switzerland because they said nobody who was in Switzerland can be kidnapped.

WESCHLER: And this was the basis of Exil.

FEUCHTWANGER: Part of it. But then this man has been caught in Paris; he was killed then in Paris.

WESCHLER: Would it be fair to say that you mainly knew of a great many individual instances, rather than of a whole policy? For example, did you have any sense of what was going on in Poland?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, of course, everybody knew that, because that was in all the newspapers. Everything what was outside of Germany was in the newspapers. Only Germany was difficult to get the news out.

WESCHLER: And specifically in the case of Lion's sister who died in Theresienstadt.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, but we knew that only after the war.

WESCHLER: You only found out after the war. Did you know she was in a camp? Did you know that during the war or was it only after?

FEUCHTWANGER: Only afterwards.

WESCHLER: You just lost contact with her.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Nobody could have contact with Germany. She would have even been in danger if we would have written to her.

WESCHLER: I guess I'm just mainly trying to get a sense of exactly how much people knew during the war as opposed to after.

FEUCHTWANGER: Speeches of Hitler were known and they say that the Jews had to be annihilated. Everybody knew about that. But we didn't know the names of the people.

WESCHLER: When you did finally find out the extent of his success, had you expected it would be...I mean, millions-- or was it still a shock to hear the numbers?

FEUCHTWANGER: Of course, it was. We didn't expect this gas oven. The terrible thing was, we knew that the people were killed, but not that they were tortured before they were killed. And then my husband also heard it when he was in Russia, you know, what they did with Mühsam, from his wife.

WESCHLER: Well, let's return to the period just about the time the war's about to begin. Were the emigrés in any way a lobby to get the United States into the war before Pearl Harbor?

FEUCHTWANGER: I know about Erika Mann, who went around and said America should enter the war against Hitler. And [later] it was not very well received by the.... You remember what I told you about Thomas Mann when he went to Germany for Schiller's anniversary. He had to speak in Weimar. His daughter Erika wanted to come with him on the ship, and they would work together on the speech. They would have let her out, but they told her if she goes out of America she couldn't come back anymore, they wouldn't

let her back anymore.

WESCHLER: Why? Because of this old irritation?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, because she was making propaganda for the war against Hitler. So she couldn't go with her father. She had just got her first papers, and then she sent the first papers back and said she doesn't want to become an American. (She was English; she was married with [W.H.] Auden, the English writer.) She said she would publish in the whole world that the daughter of Thomas Mann cannot go out without not coming back.

WESCHLER: What year was this roughly? Was it before the war?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it couldn't be before. It was after the war, because it was in East Germany. [1949]

WESCHLER: I see.

FEUCHTWANGER: Thomas Mann had to make the speech, the main speech there. And then she finally left. They finally gave her, I think, an exit visa because she said she would publish it in the whole world how they treated her here in peacetime. And then, when she wanted to come back to her parents, she got a telegram by her lawyer that she cannot come back because they would bring her to Ellis Island. You know what that is. So she didn't want to come back, of course, to go to Ellis Island and this terrible-- I saw it, how it is, you know. Then she went to Canada and came in from Canada, not by port but by overland, and

nobody found out that she was all of a sudden here again. But she didn't let her father alone anymore. That's why he left here. He didn't want to leave, because he liked the climate and his house, but she just said she cannot stay here, and she was his favorite child. So he left here.

WESCHLER: We'll talk about that more in detail later on. Were there others besides Erika Mann among the emigrés who were actively trying to get the United States into the war in 1940? I should think that the general mood of the emigrés was that the United States should enter the war against Hitler. (This is before Pearl Harbor now.) Was there any kind of active movement on the part of the emigrés to lobby or anything?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, not at all. They wouldn't have dared to do that. You know, they were glad to be here and they considered themselves.... Even Brecht, when he was at the Un-American Committee hearing, he said, "I'm a guest here and I wouldn't do anything against this country."

WESCHLER: But now this isn't against the country. This is just to encourage them to fight against Hitler.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, but also to ask them to go to war is.... Nobody could have asked them. We wouldn't have asked them because we were both pacifists, my husband and I.

WESCHLER: I should think your pacifism was put to a test in this situation, though, don't you think?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. Hitler would--it ended with Hitler; that I can say. But it came back after Hitler.

[laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, let's ask the mandatory 1941 question: where were you when Pearl Harbor occurred?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, I remember when I brought Lion his orange juice, he told me that the Japanese have bombed Pearl Harbor.

WESCHLER: So you were just here in Pacific Palisades. And after Pearl Harbor, very quickly, they established the curfew against enemy aliens, didn't they? Can you tell us a little about that, because that's not very well documented.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. It was just not allowed to go out after eight o'clock.

WESCHLER: Just for the Germans, though?

FEUCHTWANGER: The Germans and the Japanese probably, too. But the Japanese were evacuated here. We were all afraid it would be the same with us, that we would also be evacuated. That's why we also didn't try to buy a house--because we thought when we buy a house [we would lose it]. We had to pay so much more money for a rented house; after a while we could have bought a house for the same money.

WESCHLER: Sure. What exactly were some of the things

that happened because you were an "enemy alien"? What did the curfew mean?

FEUCHTWANGER: We had to go, I think, every month to some office to present us there. And there I saw all those Japanese people, those old, old women. They were about 100 years old, I think. They had to write their names, and they couldn't write: they were too weak. We were all the same, you know, treated the same.

WESCHLER: Was it a hardship for you about the curfew, or how did you deal with it?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was more humiliating than a hardship, in a way, for me. We couldn't go out, of course, at night. But my husband welcomed it sometimes, because of his work. He said now that he was so often invited by friends in Beverly Hills, and there you could never come back in time, so he always said, "I cannot come, I'm sorry, because there is the curfew." And the Austrians didn't have the curfew. Only the Germans, I think, had it.

WESCHLER: Really.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, because the Austrians were considered victims of the Nazis.

WESCHLER: As opposed to the Jewish Germans, who were not victims of the Nazis?

FEUCHTWANGER: Well, Austria was invaded, like Poland or Holland. They couldn't have.... All the Polish people or

the Dutch people or the Belgium people or the French people or the Norwegian people, they were all invaded, so that those countries which were invaded were not considered enemy aliens. Only the Germans.

WESCHLER: What would have happened if you had been caught on the streets after hours?

FEUCHTWANGER: We would have gone to jail. And we were also in danger to be deported. We had not even our papers. We had only our first papers; that was all.

WESCHLER: Were there other financial things against enemy aliens?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, our money was frozen. We couldn't even--we were three people because we also had the secretary (and her mother), and we had no money. Almost no money. And then once, Homolka gave a big party. We were sitting there beneath a big Picasso--he had the most beautiful paintings--and my escort was the painter George Biddle. He asked me, of course, how I like it here. I said I would like it better if we had some money to spend, but our money is frozen.. No, wait a minute--no, that's wrong. George Biddle was sitting beside me, and he said that his brother will come, who was Francis Biddle, the attorney general of Roosevelt. He asked if we would come to a party for him, and, of course, I was very glad to do that. And then we were at the party at George Biddle's house, and

Francis Biddle was my escort, and he asked me if I like it here. I told him I would like it better if I had some money to spend. Then he said, "But why don't you have money?" I said, "It's all frozen; we have no possibilities to get to our money." Then he said, "But why?" And I said, "But we are enemy aliens." He said, "Oh, that's ridiculous. You are friendly enemy aliens." Then he said, "You know, I tell you what you do: you write to my friend [Henry] Morgenthau and ask him that he gives your money free because you are not enemy aliens. You are refugees." And that's what we did, and then we got our money free.

WESCHLER: But you were unusual. Most refugees did not have that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Most refugees didn't have money.

WESCHLER: Okay. Continuing with the war: The first period of the war must have been extremely bleak. The Russians were losing territory. Was there any doubt at any point that Hitler would be defeated?

FEUCHTWANGER: Everybody was of the opinion that Hitler would be the victor. Only my husband didn't believe it.. But everybody else was very pessimistic.

WESCHLER: Do you remember any specific stories along those lines?

FEUCHTWANGER: All what happened--just everywhere the people were defeated, all the countries were defeated. First he

was in Poland; then came Czechoslovakia and Holland--no, Holland was earlier--and Belgium and Norway. Austria was still very doubtful for a long time because Mussolini didn't want the Germans in Austria. But finally Mussolini was also giving in before the great military might of the Germans. [Engelbert] Dollfuss was then the chancellor of Austria, and Mussolini backed Dollfuss; but then Dollfuss has been murdered by the Nazis, and this was a warning for Mussolini probably. And then finally they invaded Austria, too. Everybody thought they were always more powerful, and nobody wanted to fight with them. But my husband always said that he's sure that Russia will fight with Hitler because--remember I told you that Stalin said to my husband, "I'm sure we will have war with Germany."

WESCHLER: But when Russia entered the war at first, it looked as though Russia was going to lose also.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. But they had this scorched earth; they were very ruthless against their own people, burned everything and everybody had to leave. But my husband always said, "Napoleon couldn't do it, so Hitler couldn't do it either."

WESCHLER: When was it that, as a group, the emigrés began to change? Was it the battle of Stalingrad in '43?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, it was very funny. You know, those people who were terribly anti-communistic--for instance, Alma

Mahler was very much against communists, and she called me on this day and said, "But you know, your Stalin is a genius." [laughter] All of a sudden everything has turned.

WESCHLER: Was it the battle of Stalingrad that turned people's feelings around?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely, ja, ja. That was the end of the war, everybody thought so. It then lasted longer than they expected, but still everybody knew that this is the turning point.

WESCHLER: My sense from reading other things also is that people were more hopeful, and it was just a matter of waiting out the end of the war. But from the conversations we've had off tape, I've found that there were some interesting discussions that took place, particularly about the bombing of Dresden. You might talk a little bit about your feelings and about other people's feelings about that.

FEUCHTWANGER: First of all, of course, the whole world was shocked about the bombing.

WESCHLER: It was reported immediately when it happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. But I was not feeling the same way. I always was thinking of these millions of people who died, and this was [just] one city. I myself drove through Dresden; I admired it and found it an enchanting city with its old baroque buildings. But I couldn't feel so much pain for Dresden when I thought about the people

who died during the war. Also I was thinking of those pilots who were bombing, and most of them, so many of them have been shot down or were dragged down by the fire storm. I just couldn't believe it that one city, even if it's a very beautiful city, could be so important in comparison to these terrible deaths which were always in the newspaper.

WESCHLER: Was there outrage among the German community about it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, because they said Dresden was no center of industry and also no center of communication. But very near to Dresden is Leipzig, which was a very important center. And I recognized that, too. But I heard also that the antiaircraft flak was so awful that the pilots, the English pilots who mostly bombed there, could not target anymore; they just had to let their bombs fall and try to escape this firing. And many also have been dragged down by this fire storm which was created by the bombing. And then I heard another story that many of those pilots were Polish. They were so daring. The official Polish government went to London after the Germans invaded Poland, and then many of these pilots were volunteers in the English army. The English pilots, who were themselves very courageous, just couldn't believe it what they dared to do. They were so upset about losing their country that they really

tried everything to defeat Hitler. So there were many reasons why this has been bombed. Also some of the English said this is just a return for Coventry, which much earlier was destroyed; in a way it was a more beautiful city than Dresden even--more ancient and more art, as a work of art or so. But I didn't want to compare all that. I also said two evils don't make one good--or how do you say?

WESCHLER: Two wrongs don't make a right.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, two wrongs don't make a right. I only thought that it was not right to be so upset about one city in comparison to the terrible losses of young people.

WESCHLER: Were there any Germans in particular who were upset about Dresden? Were there any emigrés who were outraged?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think it's too strong a word to say outraged. But they were unhappy about it and also they thought it was not necessary. But I think in such a war you cannot always judge from far away what is necessary or not, or what happens just by the danger of being fired on; and also that they couldn't target anymore, the pilots.

WESCHLER: Okay. We will talk about the end of the war next time. There are a couple more questions about the emigré community, individuals that have been....

You mentioned Alma and Franz Werfel again, and we haven't

talked about them in Los Angeles. So you might perhaps just talk to us a little bit about what they were like.

(We've got a few minutes left on this tape.)

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, we were often invited there, and they also came to our house. But finally Alma and I, we decided that my husband shouldn't come so often to Werfel's house, because inevitably they began to speak about politics. And Werfel had a heart ailment and shouldn't be excited. Werfel was very much against communism (he was very Catholic, you know), and there was a different--my husband said we are now allies of the Russian, and we should be glad that they help us against Hitler, and probably we couldn't end the war without them. But he was a very excitable person, and I always thought that it wasn't good for him that they always began again to speak about politics. [pause in tape]

Alma Mahler was a very beautiful person, even when she was very old. She was a little fat, but still she was like a queen. She always impressed me very much. And the men, always more--she had lots of friends, but more men than women. I remember when she had already died, one of her courtiers--you could say--told me, "You know, she had one gift: she could every man make happy in her presence. It was not necessary more than just to be present with her. She had the gift to make people happy." What I know is that either people were either very much for her or very

much against her; there was nothing in the middle.

WESCHLER: She was a conversationalist?

FEUCHTWANGER: Of course, she always took a part in the conversation, and she looked very interested when somebody said something. She answered, but it usually wasn't an answer to that what has been said before because she just was too deaf. She didn't want to have a hearing aid, but she always was very lively in conversation.

WESCHLER: It just may not have been at all what you were talking about. [laughter]

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Also when she wrote her book [And the Bridge is Love], her daughter told her that many things she couldn't write because she could be exposed to a libel trial or so. Once she wanted to write about a friend, "Oh, she's just a whore," or something like that, and her daughter said, "You just can't write that." But she didn't write it herself; she told it to somebody, and somebody else [E.B. Ashton] wrote it in English. And then it had to be translated into German. And there it was again adapted by Willy Haas in Germany, who is a writer. So it was not much left from her. But of course the different anecdotes are true. Or at least she thought they were true.

WESCHLER: Well, Anna Mahler, the daughter of Alma Mahler, was a sculptress.

FEUCHTWANGER: She's a great sculptress, mostly as a

portraitist. I didn't care so much for the sculptures, which were just beautiful bodies or so (it was for me a little too academic), but her portraits are extraordinary. She made also the head of Schoenberg which is in Schoenberg Hall here [at UCLA], and then she made Werfel, and at the Music Center there is [Otto] Klemperer, I think, and Bruno Walter, and this Anna Bing. Did you ever hear about Anna Bing? She's a great patron of art. She bought all those things for the [Music] Center. And also in the Macgowan Theater at UCLA, there's a big obelisk--do you know this? She bought also the stone for that. This was in one piece, this enormous stone with all those masks. It had to be brought with a crane over the roof; it couldn't be under the door or so.

WESCHLER: What were Anna Mahler's relations with....

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, they were good friends. She lived also with her for a while there. It was also because Gina Kaus, who was also one of the ladies here from Austria.... She wrote also for the movies. She was rather successful, I think, writing for the movies. She also made the script for the Goya movie, which then couldn't be made because Franco didn't allow them to make the shooting in Spain. She had already written the script for the movie.

WESCHLER: What relation was she to Anna Mahler?

FEUCHTWANGER: She knew Anna Mahler. Anna Mahler didn't go

along very well with her mother, although Werfel, who was the stepfather--they liked each other very much. But Alma Mahler was too much of a personality; she crushed everybody. And Anna Mahler was for herself a personality and an artist. So Gina Kaus asked her if she would not come to her house; she has enough room in the garden for her sculptures. And I think Gina Kaus was a friend of the husband of Anna Bing Arnold [Aerol Arnold]. And so there came the friendship.

WESCHLER: What is Anna Mahler like?

FEUCHTWANGER: She is very open. She says everything out, and frankly, you know. Whatever happened--she doesn't care what happened. She just says what she thinks and believes. As I say, she is a great artist; also she is not very--what shall I say?--she has not much sense for tradition. Her mother had a big affair with the famous painter Oskar Kokoschka. And Kokoschka made beautiful portraits of her, and also a collection of fans, and she, Alma Mahler, is floating over the clouds in these paintings, with not much clothing on. Anyway, Anna Mahler didn't care so much for those things--she has no tradition, no sense of tradition--and she sold this for an enormous price, those fans. Then she bought houses with that. She bought two houses in Italy, in Spoleto, where the music festivals always are. One is a medieval castle which she bought. It looks very forbidding from outside, almost like a fortress, but inside

it's very comfortable and with modern furniture. And then she has a house in the city itself. It's this little town in Italy where always those music festivals are. And then she has a house or an apartment in London. She lives half a year in London, half a year in Italy.

TAPE NUMBER: XXIV, SIDE TWO

SEPTEMBER 1, 1975

WESCHLER: Today we have a lot of material to cover, but we're going to start by going back and picking up a few more stories from Sanary. And in particular the story of the artist who made the bust which stands next to the organ pipes here in the Feuchtwanger library.

FEUCHTWANGER: When I was walking with my husband, we always met a young couple with a little boy. They both were dark and brunette and the boy was blond and blue-eyed, and we always called them the holy family when the little boy was between them. One day the lady came to me and said she has been sent by the mayor of Sanary because she wanted to work. She was looking for work, and they said, "You go to Mrs. Feuchtwanger. She always has work for somebody who wants work." So she asked me if she could help me in the house. I said, "I have a maid, and I don't know, but I need somebody maybe for watering the garden because I have always so many people here. We cannot water before the sun goes down, and just at this time all the people are coming for tea. Every afternoon." So she came and watered, and she was better than the Spanish gardener. She had a very beautiful garden herself, a little garden, but exquisite, with white flowers and mostly with beautiful almond trees which

bloomed in the spring and had almonds which we ate always before they were ripe. (You know, you cut the green shell, and then you can eat the almonds which are white and very soft. It's exquisite to eat.) So she brought me always those almonds and invited me also to their house. It was only one room, but it was like a painting of Renoir, with those roses and flowers--a little bit of a house, a shack, but with very beautiful furniture inside which he made himself. He was a painter, and he made beautiful furniture.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: His name was Adolf Seifert. He was of Polish descent but French. He came from Paris on account of his health. He was not very healthy, and also his boy was very weak, but both recovered very well in Sanary. And then, for making a living, he had to be a house painter. People liked him very much; he painted all those hothouses and things like that. But finally he became very ill because he didn't know that the white paint has lead in it. He became a lead infection and couldn't work. That's why she looked for work. And we were very good friends. She always came and told me what gossip was going around about me, and mostly from the secretary who spoke about me. All the people heard it in the café and coffee house and told her, and then I finally said, "I don't want.... I'm like Ludwig Marcuse." (He also lived there.) I finally said,

"I don't want to know always what people say about me behind my back." This secretary of my husband told [Marcuse] always what my husband said, that he doesn't--even if he didn't say it or something--care much about his books or the books of Hermann Kesten (who also was in Sanary). But Ludwig Marcuse said he speaks out what he thinks, and other people have also the right to speak out, but he doesn't want this gossip between us. And he broke with her and told me about it. I was foolish enough--before I knew the reason why they broke, I wanted always to reconcile them until he told me that's what was the reason. And I also finally told this secretary that even if she means well with me, it's impossible to live like that, always knowing what people tell behind my back. I rather don't want to know it.

Then [Mrs. Seifert] asked me one day, she said, "My husband doesn't dare to ask you, but he wants to make a sculpture of your head." I said, "I cannot do it right now, because I cannot just leave the house for any time. I am too busy with other people always coming." Also I had to cook for my husband, who had always this stomach ailment and nobody could cook for him but I. And it was twice a day a big meal always. (About meals I have to speak later, and also about Hans Habe and his wife.) But I told them my husband is going to Russia, and I would have a little time,

but not very much because I wanted to ski also. So it was agreed that he would come to make this at my house. But it took terribly long. He was afraid, I think, to make this head. He always worked only on the hair, on my knot and all those things, but this face--he didn't work on it. I finally became very impatient and said, "You know, I have to go skiing. I don't want to miss my skiing. You are only working on the hair, and if you don't work a little better, a little faster, then I have to leave you alone." Then his wife came and said, "My husband was terribly offended. Nobody ever spoke with him like that. This is the last time he will make a head of you." And I said, "I agree with that." But finally, with all my prodding and nagging, he made this beautiful head. I think without my nagging, he never would have finished it. He just was afraid to go to the essential.

WESCHLER: He was an impressionist?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was an impressionist painter, a very good painter, but I think his masterwork is really this head. He wanted also to make the head of my husband, and I gave him the mask which my husband had made in Paris. But this mask was lost then, because we had to leave. I don't know what happened later on. I always inquired-- a very good writer, [Benjamin] Crémieux, in Paris, also had a painting of him and sculpture, and this Mr. Crémieux

was the secretary of the PEN Club and a friend of Jules Romain. Through them I always inquired about the Seiferts, but I never heard anything about them afterward. I'm afraid they have been deported by the Nazis also.

WESCHLER: He had been a student of Despiau?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was of the school of [Charles] Despiau. It was the same style. Everybody who knows about French sculpture thinks that it is from Despiau. There's another sculpture here: the mother of Mrs. Homolka, Mrs. [Agnes] Meyer, was a famous journalist and Despiau made a bust of her. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Okay. We'll move forward again now back here to the Palisades. We have been talking about various individuals who were part of this remarkable community here, and maybe we should just continue in that fashion. One person we were talking about before we turned on the tape was Richard Neutra, the architect.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, he was a very knightly personality. He was always in the middle of a party. He liked to speak and he spoke very well. Even when there was--for instance, there was once a musical in a kind of palace; I think it was built by [Frank] Lloyd Wright. After the musical he got up and spoke to the people there--there were a lot of people there--and it was fascinating to hear him. It was about his experiences--it had nothing to do with the

concert or the music--but he had to speak to people. everybody was very happy about that. He had a wonderful wife, [Dione]. She is a singer; she sings old folk songs in every language, many languages. She translated them sometimes so people would understand what it's all about; and she transposed the piano accompaniment onto her cello. She sings to the cello. He was always very proud when she sang for his and her friends. He built houses. He never had enough money, although he was very famous. He built in Japan and in India big public houses or so. He was also a city builder. He had an order to build a new city in the Congo. But then came those riots in Congo and the war, and nothing came out of it.

WESCHLER: The assassination of [Patrice] Lumumba?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, the assassination of Lumumba. And everything came to pieces. The reason why he never had money was that he liked to build. In every case he wanted to build. He fell in love with his buildings and his ideas, but that made him so understanding for other people. For instance, he never built without knowing those people very intimately. He invited them for dinner, and he went to their house, and he wanted to know about their families and their conditions--and only then he could make plans or blueprints for the houses they wanted him to build. Once he had also a young couple and found everything out. He

thought he had the right ideas, and when he gave them the plans, they were enthusiastic about it. But when they asked the price, they said, "But Mr. Neutra, we cannot afford this." He said, "How much can you afford? I take the pay you can afford." And it was not cheaper: he didn't do anything cheaper; he did the same thing as he had done first. But that's why I say he never had enough money. Because he wanted to build, and he was not a money man. His wife was from a great Swiss family, and she just went along with that.

There was a great disaster, besides this thing with the Congo: his house burned down when he was in Austria. He had built this house as a model house for a certain size and also [style] for living for medium families. It was very beautiful and very individual.

WESCHLER: Where was this house?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was on Silver Lake. But this house burned down. Not only that, the house was something rare because it was a Neutra house which was specially built for his plan, for his ideas and also for the ideas of the same kind of people, intellectuals or so. He was so depressed. He lived with his wife in a single room. They were not insured, and all his plans also for his city dwellings and the city buildings which he made were all burned down. He was absolutely despondent and couldn't be interested in anything.

His wife was absolutely--when you call it an ange gardien, you know, a guardian angel, she was like that. She was always so good humored and made him speak and wanted to make him interested again in life. She sang and all that. She never lost courage, although she was as desperate as he was. And one day, a gentleman here on the hill, higher up on the hill--he was a lawyer, the lawyer of Neutra, made his contracts always [Sidney Troxell]--he called me and said he invited Mr. Neutra and his wife for lunch, and that Mr. Neutra wanted me to come, too. This was already very unusual because he didn't want to see anybody. And also that he accepted the invitation was unusual. But he liked me very much. When his house burned down, and I saw him once and he told me, that he was also so unhappy because the trilogy of my husband, the Flavius Josephus trilogy, also burned down, that it was his favorite book. And I gave him another, three other copies, and that was why he invited me and wanted to see me again. And this lawyer had a very good idea for helping him. Since Neutra had no insurance, he interested manufacturers for the houses which Neutra built in his individual approach, and those manufacturers who made parts of houses--doors or windows, whatever it was...

WESCHLER: Formica.

FEUCHTWANGER: ...ja, mica, and different new fabrications.

They agreed that they would finance this building as a kind of model for a new kind of house where you use modern material. So then he built a house on Silver Lake again, even nearer to the lake. This house is on a very small lot--I always say it's built on a handkerchief--but you think it's a big thing, a big house, because of the way he built it in several stories. They were not one above the other, but always sideways. Inside there were stairs from one to the other, not above--broad, not high. And in every story there was water--there was a water pool--so everything was mirroring in these pools, and you thought it's a very big house and a very big lot also. It has a garden in the rear and a garden in the front--all very small, but this all mirrors in the little lakes; even when you are in the rooms, you see in the rooms the mirrors. It's absolutely unique--I never have seen something like that--and it's very enchanting. Only you shouldn't have to be a heart condition because there are so many stairs. And when he built this house he was happy again; it gave him a new approach to life and a new spirit. And also he wrote new books.

His wife--she's a fantastic person. When they were together, she always had photos with her of the new houses he built. She had always a big bag with her, a briefcase, and always she brought some photos out. And he was very

proud when she showed the photos. Both were so naive; it was really enchanting how they worked together to interest people. It was not for money--they knew that nobody of those people could build a house or would build a house--it was just that they had the impression of his work.

In a way it has something to do also with my husband, who used to tell his friends Brecht or Arnold Zweig when he was successful, and they also told when they had successes. They communicated like that. But when my husband was here, I often told him he shouldn't do that here with people, that they don't understand that and think you are bragging. But he couldn't understand that people resented that, when he spoke about how now his new book has been translated in so many languages and all came the same day, or something like that. He was full of this, of the last letter which the publisher sent to him, but I told him people don't like that here. And I was right, because when you read Mrs. Thomas Mann's book, she also makes fun out of that. He never realized that people couldn't understand this way. He just wanted to communicate.

WESCHLER: Maybe we should move from Neutra to some other people.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But I have to tell you something about Mrs. Neutra. Not only was she a great musician and is

always still now. She is not so young anymore but still she is very beautiful and very useful and very elegant always. I tell her always, "I wait only for communism to get hold of your beautiful dresses." [laughter] Anyway, when he was in his first house, he always had so many plans and drawings for new city buildings and so, that finally there was no room to sleep. Then she had a big chest; and on the chest, a kind of old chest, were all those drawings there. And she slept on top of it. She put her bedding on top of it; [otherwise] she had no room for a bed for herself. I think that was great. And she showed me that; you wouldn't believe it if you hadn't seen it. At the same time, it looked very beautiful because she had a beautiful drapery above it.

WESCHLER: Okay, why don't we move on perhaps to some of the musicians? We've talked about some, but we haven't really talked very much about Hanns Eisler.

FEUCHTWANGER: Hanns Eisler was round. Everything was round. He had a round head and a round belly. He liked to drink a little bit, or even a little more than a bit, and when he drank he was very gay. But sometimes he could also be very morose. I always found that he is not only a great musicologist (because he knew really fantastic things about composing and so, and he could make it understandable for me), but he was also one of the most intelligent

people I ever knew. About literature, for instance. He knew Brecht, he understood his style, and he composed also for him a lot of things, mostly The Measure Taken, which has been performed here recently. You just were glad in his company because he was always amusing--and very, very gallant with ladies, a real Viennese. You could listen for hours to him; he could speak about everything. He was also a very great friend of Charlie Chaplin, with whom he worked a lot. He also composed for Odets, for one of his films; the title was None But the Lonely Heart. The producer of this film was also so enthusiastic about Eisler. She wasn't [enthusiastic] about him as a man, because he was not so good looking, but his whole way and his whole personality was so fascinating; and she helped him a lot also for to earn money.* Because everybody came here without anything. I think Mrs. Roosevelt helped him also to come over. He was recommended to her. Did I tell you the story about Schoenberg and him?

WESCHLER: No.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a student of Schoenberg and very much in awe of him. He really admired him greatly. We met Schoenberg through him. We came to Eisler's house when he invited Schoenberg and us, and I was very impressed by Schoenberg, but also as much in awe as Eisler was. I was almost afraid of him, his eyes were so fanatic and piercing. But he *None But the Lonely Heart (1944) was produced by David Hempstead. Mrs. Feuchtwanger is referring here to Harriet Parsons.

went along with my husband very well, and they had a good time together. And later on, when Mr. [Milton S.] Koblitz found his house for him....

WESCHLER: Koblitz found Schoenberg's house?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a man who was very much impressed by people who achieved something, famous people. He had two different kinds of people he wanted to help: one was Korngold, who was an academic composer, and the other was Schoenberg, who was absolutely new then and unpopular still with his new twelve-tone compositions. He also found this house for Schoenberg for him [at 116 North Rockingham]; I'm sure Schoenberg didn't know that Koblitz was probably paying most of it, because they couldn't have afforded it without the help of Koblitz.

WESCHLER: Who was Koblitz?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think he was a lawyer before; he came from Russia during the czarist time, when those terrible pogroms were in Russia. He made his fortune here, and he used his fortune only to help other people--many, very different people. I know of a Chinese lady [Eta Lee] he brought here. She was Catholic and he brought her, the whole family. He had all kinds of.... When somebody came for help, he was always there to help. He didn't know so much the laws of America, but he had a famous lawyer here, Mr. Eric Scudder--I think I've told about him--who helped

him also with the necessary law-abiding things which you have to know as a refugee. He gave him the advice, what to do and what not to do. And Mr. Scudder also did it for nothing, just to help people.

Anyway, Schoenberg--one of his children had to have an operation. And it would cost \$200, and Schoenberg just didn't have the money. He was a teacher at UCLA but--I cannot tell otherwise--his pay was lousy. Really, they couldn't live on this pay. If it hadn't been for Mr. Koblitz, who helped him in a way.... I don't know how he did it, because I'm sure that Schoenberg himself wasn't conscious of it; he was a very proud man and wouldn't have accepted anything. So Mr. Koblitz must have done it in a very tactful way. So when this child had an operation, he couldn't afford the \$200. So Hanns Eisler heard about it, and he came to his master Schoenberg and said, "I heard that your child should have an operation. You know, I make good money with Chaplin's movies. I wouldn't mind to lend you the money. You don't have to pay me immediately because you could also give me some lessons instead of the pay." And Schoenberg said, "If you haven't understood it until now, you will never understand it." [laughter] That Hanns Eisler told me himself. But he managed it in a way with the wife or so, I don't know. Finally he got the money.

WESCHLER: Starting again back with Eisler. Was he happy

here in Los Angeles?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very happy, yes, I think so.

WESCHLER: He would have stayed here if he hadn't been hounded out?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he would also--he would have gone back to Germany. Also like Brecht and my husband. I think they liked here the climate and the whole--and he himself made money with movies and so, Eisler, so I don't think he would have left. My husband had always the intention to stay half a year in Germany and half a year here where he had his house and his library. It wouldn't have been possible to have this kind of house in Germany and also to transport all those things.

WESCHLER: You think that Eisler was similar, that he would have liked to have been able to do both, to go to Germany and to come back?

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely, yes. Everybody wanted to go to Germany because it was like Antaeus, you know, this Greek man who, when he fought with Herakles, almost defeated Hercules, until Hercules held him up in the air and strangled (or crushed) him. Every time Hercules threw him down to earth, he came up with new strength, because Antaeus was the son of the Earth, of Erde [Gaea], and she gave him new strength. I think this strength they felt would be Germany for them--old German culture. Despite everything

what happened, they wanted to go back to the Germany they came from. At least for a while. Always.

WESCHLER: Where did Eisler live?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember where he lived at the beginning, but later on he lived in Malibu. He had a little house in Malibu, but it was rented; it was not his own house. [23868 West Pacific Coast Highway]

His wife [Lou]--she divorced him then in Germany--she was rather unhappy with him here on account of his drinking. She was a very good friend of Oona Chaplin, you know, the daughter of O'Neill. She told me once that she would have divorced him here, but as long as he was not fortunate here--he was never sure what happened to him, if he always would have money--so she didn't want to leave him alone. I think it was wonderful: she said she wanted to divorce him but not as long as his financial is not in good shape. And then, when he went back to Europe, she divorced him and married a writer in Vienna, Mr. [Ernst] Fischer. And there was a very funny story. (It is not funny, [it is] contrary of funny. But every time I tell it, everybody has to laugh.) Eisler was still on very good terms with his former wife; also he married a very young, very beautiful girl [Steffy Eisler] and was very happy with her. Also he was very successful in Germany. But he came from time to time to Vienna to see his first wife.

And once he had a heart attack there at the house. The husband of his first wife was so excited about it that he also had immediately a heart attack. And both came to the hospital in the same room, and Lou Eisler, who was then Mrs. Fischer, had to--isn't that a funny story?--had to visit them both together in one room. It's not funny, but everybody has to laugh when I tell the story. Both recovered then, but Hanns Eisler, several years later, died again of a heart attack.

But you know, he composed the national anthem for East Germany, the anthem. And there is another funny story--and it is not tragic, only funny. Once, I think it was the before-last Olympics, the East Germans had seventeen gold medals, the most of all. And every time when a gold medal is given to the champion, they have to play the anthem of their country. So they had to play seventeen times--everybody, you know, the whole orchestra who was there, the American orchestra (everyone had their musicians). And the Americans, who threw him out of America, expelled him from America, had to play every time, seventeen times, the anthem which he composed. It's also comical, but at least it's not tragical.

WESCHLER: We will come back later on to the actual circumstances of his expulsion when we talk about the red scare and so forth. Getting back to Schoenberg, what kind

of figure was he in the community?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had no community. He was all by himself always. He never had many people who knew him. There was Alma Mahler who knew him because they were both from the same city. But he was not the composer for Alma Mahler; she was more for Verdi and those things. You know--I didn't tell you--when we were in Sanary once, my husband had to go to Paris, and then she invited me immediately to a very beautiful meal. And they always sang after the evening dinner; they always sang together. She accompanied on the piano, and they sang together Verdi's opera. Werfel also liked to sing very much. And they sang beautiful together Verdi's opera.

WESCHLER: Did they sing beautifully together?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was of course not beautiful for a concert, but it was beautiful for at home. They sang the right notes in the right places and the voices were not bad. It was not great art but it was just for who needs.

WESCHLER: Getting back to Schoenberg, was he seen much around town?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. He kept by himself. He was also very busy with his teaching at UCLA and also with his composing. They didn't have a car, I think, for the beginning, and they had rather small children still, or young children, and so.

WESCHLER: Although he was neglected by many Americans, was he respected by the emigré community?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, nobody knew about him.

WESCHLER: Even among the emigrés, he wasn't especially...?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I think the only emigré was Hanns Eisler, and the Werfels knew him from Vienna. But I wouldn't know that he was very much known.

WESCHLER: Were relations between Brecht and Schoenberg at all close?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. You know Schoenberg was not a man with whom you could be close. He was really--you were in awe of him. Although he was not pretentious or so, it was just his look, his fanatic eyes. He was also quiet, in a way. When he said something, it could be very powerful; but he didn't say much, at least when I was with him. But it was an unforgettable impression what he gave with his personality.

After he had died, his wife performed a tape of Moses and Aaron, which has been first performed in Hamburg (as a concert). We were invited. It was night, very dark night, and the whole thing, the whole performance was in his garden. The people were sitting around the long oblong fish pool; and sitting along this pool, you heard the frogs. It was very, rather eerie, the whole atmosphere. The people were very quiet, sitting around this pool.

WESCHLER: Who were some of the people there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Bruno Walter was there, I remember. It was so dark, I couldn't see very much. Also Koblitz was there, and the consul general from Germany, Dr. [Richard] Hertz. But the others I couldn't see, it was so dark. The funny thing was that from the first moment I heard singing--Moses speaks only, and Aaron sings only--the impression was so strong in this darkness that afterwards, when somebody spoke about it, I always said, "I have seen the opera." I never even realized that I had never seen it; when I said, "I have seen it," I was not lying: I thought really I have seen it. It was all before me. When I was hearing the music, I saw Moses and Aaron, saw them, their dialogue; and since it was German, I could understand what they say. And after years and years, all of a sudden (it was when I first came again to the house of Schoenberg, to visit [Mrs.] Schoenberg), it was in daytime, and I thought about how it looked at night--and all of a sudden I said, "But I couldn't have seen it in this environment. I couldn't have seen the opera; it's impossible." But I didn't realize it for years. I always thought that I have seen the opera. I saw the white gowns, you know. And I cannot understand that, because usually I'm not a mystic or something. And there was another thing also: [that evening] my husband had again his

stomach trouble, and he told Mrs. Schoenberg that he is not very well and he doesn't think he can stay until to the end. But she told him, "If you are cold, can I give you some [long] drawers of my husband?" I think it was very touching.

WESCHLER: Do you happen to recall Bruno Walter's reaction to the Moses and Aaron?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, of course. He was very enthusiastic about it, although he was--Schoenberg was not absolutely his....

WESCHLER: Cup of tea?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I wouldn't say that. [laughter] But his favorite composer--he was more for Mozart. He was a specialist on Mozart. But of course he was very impressed by this. We didn't speak much with Bruno Walter about Schoenberg, but at least I imagine that. But on the other hand, Mr. Hertz, the consul general from Germany, he spoke very amusing in the beginning, and very enthusiastic about the whole affair. He said he's so proud--he never was proud of his hometown, Hamburg, because they were more merchant people and not very elated about art and so, but they were the first in Germany who performed the opera for the first time, and he is proud of his hometown.

WESCHLER: People like Otto Klemperer and Bruno Walter were in town occasionally.

FEUCHTWANGER: I think Bruno Walter was a long time here. He had a very beautiful house in Beverly Hills. But Klemperer was not so much here because he was going to England and to New York and everywhere.

WESCHLER: Amsterdam also?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Amsterdam, and Switzerland later on. He was a long time in Switzerland. He divided his time between England and Switzerland. In both countries he was enormously popular. He could do everything he wanted there. Sometimes he was very angry because.... Even once there was a great discussion in the newspapers that although he was a very liberal man, he disapproved of the strike of the musicians, I think, in Switzerland. The funny thing was that Switzerland, who is usually so proud of its independence and so, they were on his side because he was so angry with the musicians' union. They found that he was right in his behavior. I was really amazed, because usually a foreigner in Switzerland is not very well considered. But he was so popular and so admired, and the same was in England.

WESCHLER: Was he an important part of the community in Los Angeles when he was here?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not that I would know, because he was also too busy with working, you know, the rehearsals for the symphony, the Philharmonic, and so. I don't know if

he was very socialite here.

WESCHLER: Did you have season tickets to the Los Angeles Philharmonic?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I usually had free tickets. [laughter]

WESCHLER: I guess what I'm getting at here is to what extent the emigré population was responsible for strengthening the seasons of the Philharmonic. I would guess that the emigrés attended many of the concerts.

FEUCHTWANGER: Probably. I don't know, because they are so full. There are so many people there.

WESCHLER: Even back in the forties?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Bruno Walter was very popular, very admired. He didn't have any--there was no doubt about it: it was always sold out, I assume, as much as I saw. But I usually had the tickets of Mr. Scudder, who was a kind of patron of arts for the musicians. Mostly for Wallenstein, who he brought here and made his contracts. So Mr. Scudder had always two seats. And he not always went there, so he gave me these seats. But I even couldn't go all the time I wanted because I couldn't go out alone and let my husband stay at home alone. He was working usually so long, and he said when he's going out in the evening he couldn't work the next day, because his sleep was not very fast and he woke up very early in the morning. During the night even, he went up and went to his desk. So he said he has

the choice between working and going out. And there was no freeway in those times, so it was a whole day almost to go there and come back.

WESCHLER: Do you have any other stories about Bruno Walter? Was he here at this house very often?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was here and he even played on the organ here.

WESCHLER: Really?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Also he said that he was very jealous about the nearness of the ocean. He would have liked to have a house here, too, instead of in Beverly Hills. But he had a very beautiful house in Beverly Hills. He was very satisfied with it. We were there when he had his seventieth birthday. He had a great reception there in the garden. I got almost a ticket when I went there, because I turned--nobody was there, and I had to turn around on a crossing, so I went into the next street and backed out into the same street. And then a policeman came and said, "Don't you know that you cannot do this way of backing out?" I said, "It's not in my book." When I made the examination for the driver's license, there was nothing that I can't back out when there is nobody there. Then, because I told him that, he said, "Didn't you see that somebody wanted to go?" I said, "No, I didn't see anybody there." He said, "Where are you going?" Then I said, "We are going

to Bruno Walter's seventieth birthday." "Oh, go ahead," he said. [laughter] He didn't give me no ticket on account of myself, but for Bruno Walter's birthday, because he was very popular.

WESCHLER: Why did he leave Los Angeles, do you know?

FEUCHTWANGER: He didn't leave it, I think. He was just-- he was always here; he died here.

WESCHLER: I see.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but he was very much in other countries for guest appearances. When he died, his funeral was something special. He was a Christian Scientist or something; it was another kind of sect, [Rudolf] Steiner or something mystic. And he has been buried in this way. I was with Volkmar von Zühlendorff there, who was Catholic, and we both were very much amazed about this kind of religion he had. I know that he was baptized already in his childhood by his parents, but then he adopted this kind of very mystic--I don't remember, I have to find it out. The priest always said, "Brother Bruno Walter." "Brother Bruno," he called him, with arms spread out, and it was strange. The whole thing was very strange.

WESCHLER: Where was he buried?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know where he was buried. This was a service in a church. And then the whole thing was again in Long Beach or somewhere, and also there the

people found it very strange, this kind of burial what he had. I think it was for.... He said he's so happy; he once told me he's so happy with this sect and that the only regret is that he didn't find it earlier. It's about something with coming back later, after death.

WESCHLER: We'll have to look that up. That's an interesting detail.

FEUCHTWANGER: The founder is Steiner, I know; he was in Germany, the founder of this religion.

TAPE NUMBER: XXV, SIDE ONE

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WESCHLER: Just off tape right now we were beginning to talk about Reinhardt and Jessner and some people. You made the point, which was very interesting, that one of the reasons that you weren't as much part of the theatrical community is that you were so far out, out here in Pacific Palisades.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, most were in Hollywood, not even in Beverly Hills, and it was just too far away. We had no freeway, and it cost my husband half a day to go there and come back.

WESCHLER: I think it's a common misconception of the emigré community here in Los Angeles that people living in Santa Monica, Beverly Hills, Pacific Palisades were all relatively close to each other. But in those days it wasn't so close.

FEUCHTWANGER: The most of them lived in Beverly Hills. Austrian and German. And here was only Thomas Mann, and we, and then Brecht was in Santa Monica. That was the nearest, Santa Monica, and not many lived there.

WESCHLER: And at that time that was really a sizable difference. Also because of the curfew.

FEUCHTWANGER: The curfew at first, but after the curfew it was the time, just too much time lost. You know when

you went to a party--let's say the party began at six o'clock, you had to leave at four o'clock: that was half a day was lost for work (my husband worked until eight o'clock in the evening, and after dinner he began to make his research for the next day; he prepared for the next day). When could he work when he's always on his way in the car to go see people?

WESCHLER: You told me a funny thing concerning Brecht's comments about your living here.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Brecht said, "How can you live so far away? There is no doctor, there is no pharmacy. You could die without help!" And Helli said, "How can you buy such a big house? It is almost a hotel." But I quickly changed that, bought some trees so it would disrupt the--and also the ivy is climbing everywhere; so it doesn't look like a hotel at all. [laughter]

And Charles Laughton didn't live so far away, but it was also Santa Monica. And then later on Eisler lived in Malibu, and there we went sometimes on Sunday. This was always a big crowd on Sunday, but mostly musicians. Artie Shaw came always there and was very much a great friend of the European refugees. And then Charlie Chaplin was every Sunday there, and Ava Gardner--who was married, I think, to Artie Shaw then--and Odets. It was movie people and musicians mostly who came there.

WESCHLER: You told a nice story about Ava Gardner once, but we haven't done it on tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we came there--we had a visit of Eva van Hoboken, you know, who lived in Switzerland. She visited my husband and me, and we took her with us to Hanns Eisler. And there was Ava Gardner with a yellow coat. Eva van Hoboken admired this coat very much; she liked the color. And Ava Gardner immediately took off the coat and gave it to her. We just didn't know what to do: it was such a spontaneous generosity. And Eva Boy thought she would offend her if she didn't accept it, so she accepted it. But Eva Boy was, of course, much richer than Ava Gardner. She just didn't want to offend her when she had this generous gesture. And now I have this coat still. Sometimes I have it on when I go to the Hollywood Bowl in the evening. It's a very warm woolen coat. It has no special style. It's made like a trench coat a little bit. It's very long, so it covers your legs also.

WESCHLER: Okay. You've mentioned Artie Shaw. Were there other more popular musicians who were gravitating towards the emigrés?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I know only about Artie Shaw.

WESCHLER: Did you know Greta Garbo, by the way?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I met her at Charlie Chaplin's house several times.

WESCHLER: What was she like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, she was very beautiful, and she is probably still. A little shy, but when you spoke with her, she was very aimable and not at all--what would you say?--proud or haughty. She was really rather timid, I would say. And there was also always Dudley Nichols there, who was a writer for the movies. Every time he saw me, he told me about the impression Feuchtwanger made on him when [Lion] came the first time in '32 on the boat to America. He was a newspaper writer for a great newspaper, and he interviewed my husband. He always said that you wouldn't believe what fame he had, and how popular he was, and what a great sensation it was that he arrived in New York.

WESCHLER: Do you think Lion's fame later on was then less than it was in the thirties?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. He had made something absolutely new; his kind of historical novel was something new and never before experienced, so in this way he was more famous than later. But later, of course, his fame or his impression was deeper, because later on he wrote this Flavius Josephus, which has been known. From then on.... For instance, Robert Kirsch wrote that he is one of the best novel writers of the twentieth century. He even wrote once that he's the best historical novel writer of the twentieth century. That was later. So the impression was

deeper later; but it had been more popular with his novel Jud Süß, which was so new.

WESCHLER: Okay. Some other people in the movie world, in the Hollywood world, who we might talk about: you were also friends with Jean Renoir.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Tomorrow I go to his house for an interview with him together and with photos.

WESCHLER: Oh, really? What was the basis of the friendship there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was also a great admirer of my husband, and my husband was a great admirer of him. We knew The Grand Illusion. We saw that in Munich, when we were still in Europe. So both knew each other's works and were great admirers of each other. And also they went along so well because they had so much in common, in a way, many things. They liked the same things. Both were great artists.

WESCHLER: Is it true that Renoir wanted to make a movie out of one of Lion's books?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he wanted to make Proud Destiny, and even the contract was already made. Charles Boyer should have played [Caron de] Beaumarchais; he liked this character so much, Beaumarchais. Charles Boyer was just burning to play it. And [Lewis] Milestone, who was then a very famous movie director, wanted to make the direction. Everything was

finished, and then the whole movie company broke down. Not only was it that the whole thing was ended, but my husband had to pay a lot for it because the lawyers who make those contracts are very expensive. Somebody had to pay them, and finally it was my husband. He was a foreigner, and they took advantage probably of him. He had to pay a lot of money just for the lawyers.

WESCHLER: But this didn't disrupt your friendship with Renoir at all?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was not his fault; it was the fault of the company. Renoir lost as much as my husband. He was also one of the losers. They were deceived by some of the people who made the contract. They didn't tell them the whole condition of the movie company.

WESCHLER: Did Renoir have much trouble with Hollywood studios?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't think so. He was very famous, and he is also a man with whom you can go along very well. He is a real Frenchman, very polite, and I don't think he could ever raise his voice or so. He wrote a book which is very successful now [My Life and My Films], and he is now writing another book. But he's a very sick man, in and out of the hospital. But he's now better, it seems, because he was willing to do this interview with me together.

WESCHLER: Another person that you've mentioned off tape was James Agee.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I met him also at Chaplin's house. He also was an admirer of my husband's work. My husband knew him--mostly before he wrote his big book, [Lion] knew of his work in the periodical, Nation. So it was also very good friendship--"friendship" is too much, but a good relationship between the two.

WESCHLER: What was he like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was very good looking, tall and pale. He married also a girl, I think she was an emigrant, an unknown emigrant, and he married her probably only to do a good deed. And then it was a very happy marriage. But he died so early.

WESCHLER: Was he very self-assertive, or was he shy?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he wasn't directly shy, but he was quiet. It was a very secure quietness, you know: he felt secure in himself.

WESCHLER: What kinds of people did he associate with among the emigrés?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I only know with us.

WESCHLER: Was he friends with Brecht and so forth?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't think so, no. You know, I have to tell you: all the time Brecht was unknown here. And also his work was unknown: he had no books; there was nothing

printed. The only thing what was known about him was The Threepenny Opera, and this has not been performed here.

WESCHLER: Okay, another person is Norman Lloyd.

FEUCHTWANGER: Norman Lloyd, yes. He's always in the middle of everything. He's a very temperamental--not temperamental, no, I wouldn't say, but a lively person. And he's a very good actor. The last time he played in the Music Center at the Mark Taper theater he played in Shaw's Major Barbara; he was very good. Also he is director of the Channel 28 [KCET public television] thing.

WESCHLER: Hollywood Television Theater.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. He is a wonderful person, he and his wife, and they were great friends of Chaplin also. He told me once--this was about two or three years ago--he was a visitor of Chaplin, and Chaplin was in the north of Italy at one of those spas. And they went together into the ocean and Chaplin swam around with him. He had difficulties, what he said, at least, to follow him.

WESCHLER: You say Norman Lloyd was in the middle of everything. He was very much part of the whole community here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and he is also a very well known Shakespearean actor. He is a great friend of John Houseman. He knows everything, and he is also a fantastic personality. Helpful if he can be.

He wanted to make the play of my husband. My husband wrote once a play; it was more or less a study for his novel Proud Destiny. He told me once he wanted to do something for the centennial of my husband, but the novel is too long. And then I told him that there is also a play my husband used only for a kind of architectural reason. And I gave him the play. He had an actress, the French actress--she played with Chevalier, you know, in Gigi and things like that [Leslie Caron]--and she wanted to play also in Proud Destiny. It was all settled, but then both read the book and they said there is nothing there for--too little for this actress, too small a part and not sensational enough. So to everybody's regret, it didn't come out, anything about it.

WESCHLER: I'd like to talk about some people here who were not so much members of the community but became your friends, particularly at UCLA and USC, and these are Gustav Arlt and Harold von Hofe.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I met both very early at a party of the Werfels, when they lived still on Outpost. I know that Arlt was my escort at the table, and I was amazed how youthful he was and how joyful and full of life. But von Hofe seemed to me much more timid in those days. I can say that von Hofe discovered Ludwig Marcuse for the Americans.

WESCHLER: How so?

FEUCHTWANGER: He also was instrumental for his work at USC. Ludwig Marcuse was teaching there, and he was a very popular teacher. Although he spoke even more atrocious English than I do, his lectures were very popular there..
[pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Something more about Gustave Arlt.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Gustave Arlt first worked for my husband when he came always here to translate my husband's novel Simone, which has been first published at the Literary Guild. His wife, who is German, and he, they translated under another name [G.A. Hermann] the novel Simone. He always told me what a great pleasure it was for him to translate together with my husband.

WESCHLER: What did that consist of when something was being translated? Was he constantly referring to your husband, or was it just that he did a translation and Lion reviewed it?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he did the translation mostly at home, and then he came with what he had worked at home, and then they worked it together again. And there was always Hilde, to whom it could be dictated immediately.

And then later, when my husband had died, he came to me and asked me if I had something, if there is something left which has not been published. I said nothing which was finished, but there is a fragment which should have been a

big essay about the historical novel with the title The House of Desdemona. [Das Haus der Desdemona]. He asked me to give it to him, this manuscript, and he took it with him to [Lake] Arrowhead, where UCLA has a house, I think, a center. And in three days he translated the preface, which was the only thing which was finished (the other was all only in notes and so, shorter parts). And then he gave it to me. And then this preface has been published in Books Abroad (that is a very serious periodical), and this was a great sensation, this preface and his translation. They even brought out a special edition-- not with other things, but only for this preface. And in this edition he wrote a dedication to me, that he always admired so much Lion Feuchtwanger for his great historical knowledge and faculties or so. And this [copy], really very precious to me, has been stolen by one of the students who worked here. That's also a reason why I don't have many students coming here anymore. There are lots of things which have been stolen.

WESCHLER: Gustave Arlt was also responsible for, or very much involved in, something called "The Day of the Book." Could you tell us a little bit about what that was?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that's true. I don't know much about it. It was only that my husband and Thomas Mann were asked to speak there.

WESCHLER: Where was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was at UCLA. And the whole thing was arranged by Gustave Arlt. I only know that when my husband spoke once, then one of the students shouted, "Communist!" And I think that Gustave Arlt had difficulties afterwards, but we never spoke about it with him or so. I just had the feeling that it was difficult for Gustave Arlt for a while because everybody was so afraid of the Un-American Committee.

WESCHLER: Was this Day of the Book during World War II?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was. I think it was the day of the burning of the books or something. [October 1943]

WESCHLER: And what was the theme of the various talks?

FEUCHTWANGER: What would you think was the theme? The Nazis were the theme. [laughter] And the invasion of the Barbarians in Europe.

WESCHLER: Do you remember what Mann and Feuchtwanger said there?

FEUCHTWANGER: And he was indignant, Thomas Mann. [laughter] But I think I can give you his speech, I can probably find it.*

And I also wanted to tell you about this book, this preface of the Desdemona. After it has been published and

*See Feuchtwanger, "The Working Problems of the Writer in Exile" (pp. 345-49) and "On the Character of the Germans and the Nazis" (pp. 425-30) in Writers' Congress: The Proceedings of the Conference held in October 1943 under the sponsorship of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the University of California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944).

had such a sensation, I got a call from Wayne University in Detroit. It was the dean of German literature [Harold Basilius], and he asked me if I would allow that he would print the whole book, the whole fragment. I said, "Of course. I'm very glad about that." Then he came here, made a contract with me, and published it. It is now a great rarity, a bibliophile's rarity. It has been printed at first in hardback and then in paperback. Very expensive for this thin little book. And then he asked me.... He translated the whole thing into English, the whole book which was not finished. Then he said it was a little awkward that when he translated not the preface, but only the other part of the book, that it is another style (because Gustave Arlt translated the preface). So he asked Gustave Arlt-- or he asked me and I asked Gustave Arlt--if it would be all right if Mr. Basilius could translate it again. And Gustave Arlt was amenable enough to give his assent; he was very great about it.

WESCHLER: So that's the version which now stands, the second translation.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. The second translation. But he mentioned also Gustave Arlt in his preface. And he mentioned also my--what also I told him--that I had very great difficulties because a great part of it was in shorthand. It was an old-fashioned shorthand which is not used anymore;

but as a child I had also learned it, just because I wanted to learn everything. I wasn't very good at it; I just was interested in it for a short time. But my husband was a great writer in shorthand. He even got a prize once because he could write so fast. Sometimes when he hadn't much time and was traveling, he wrote letters in shorthand to me, from Russia or so. It was very difficult because in France, when I got the letters, it was already a great kind of cold war between Russia and France. I think they opened my letters, and they couldn't read the shorthand, so probably I was greatly suspected in France.

WESCHLER: So what happened with you--the Desdemona had been written mainly in shorthand, the notes for it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and many notes, where he corrected it and edited it, and even verses and so--everything was in shorthand. And I had--days and nights I studied. A very funny thing was that I had always this book, this little handbook of the Gabelsberger Stenographie, it was called, with me in my rucksack when I was skiing. And since I didn't come back to Germany, I had it with me even in Austria for when I was skiing always, because I thought that maybe I need it when my husband writes to me in shorthand, that I could maybe find out.... Because everybody has his own kind of shorthand, what they called seals in

Germany, and he had made his own seals. So it was very difficult. Also [the manuscript] was all corrected in blue, on blue paper and with a pencil, and it was almost not readable, even if it had not been in shorthand. So I had to sometimes just divine it by--also sometimes when there were verses that rhymed or so, I found then the right word. And really he could finish it; and I think it was everything I found out was meant, what it was meant.

WESCHLER: So you had to translate it into German before it was translated into English.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely, of course.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

WESCHLER: We're going to start first of all with a person who we didn't talk too much about in Sanary who you have thought more about.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was already there before the other emigrés came.

WESCHLER: Who was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was René Schickele, with his wife and his son. They were from Alsace-Lorraine, and he had two--you could say--fatherlands. Because he spoke in two languages: for him it was absolutely the same. Before Hitler, first it was German; and then the Germans lost Alsace-Lorraine to the French. Through the hundreds of years it

was always changing hands. It was a borderland. He voted for Germany and wrote in German his novels, which always had to be translated into French. He also wrote a play which was called Hans im Schnakenloch; that was a kind of hero in this country, a volks hero. It would be translated John in the Gnat's Hole. And he wrote a play about that, and this has been played during the First World War in Munich, in the Kammerspiele. It was a rather lurid play, about the desperation of somebody who does not know to whom he belongs, who belongs to both cultures and likes both cultures, and then finally also he adopts German culture. That was also because he was born in Alsace, and Lorraine was where more French-speaking people were, while Alsace was where more German-speaking people were. And the capital of this country which was part of Germany first and then became French again.... And it always was a revenge; all the wars were in a way a revenge for Alsace-Lorraine. The Kaiser made war against France for Alsace-Lorraine, then the French took it back again, then Hitler in a way made war to get it back to the Germans, and so they were all torn. And the capital was Strasbourg, which is famous, Strasbourg with its greatest Gothic cathedral. Also Goethe writes a lot about it; he studied there. So it was considered one of the greatest--and there is Gottfried von Strassburg, who was a classic from the medieval times; he wrote about the

old epic Germanic sagas, and he belonged to this kind of culture. And then, when Hitler came to power, Schickele went back to the French citizenship, the same as [Albert] Schweitzer (who also was from Alsace-Lorraine and also spoke German and wrote German, but then he only spoke French and wrote French).

WESCHLER: Had Schickele also been a journalist, I believe?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was a great journalist from Paris. He wrote from Paris for the Vossische Zeitung in Berlin and was very much read. He was very much admired and also in very literate circles, a little bit blue-blooded circles, you know--not very alive, but they were the highest of intelligentsia. And he belonged to that. And then also he wrote novels. One of the novels he wrote after my accident in Sanary, and there was a young girl also has the accident which I had, the same kind. She is a very beautiful girl and she cannot stand it that she is limping now with her knee, so she commits suicide by driving too fast on this Grande Corniche, this famous view of the Mediterranean. She crashes down the rocks. And also there is another young woman in the novel, and he divides me into both of these women.

WESCHLER: Do you remember the name of the novel by any chance?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I must look it up; I just don't remember.

It was not his greatest work. He wrote better books.

WESCHLER: Where did he live in Sanary? And to what extent was he a part of the community?

FEUCHTWANGER: He lived in Sanary even before we were there; he was almost at home there, you know, not like we were. He didn't feel like an emigrant because he was now French again and felt at home, in a way.

WESCHLER: Was he in the village or on the outskirts?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had not a view from his house, but it was a very comfortable house near the highway. It was always a center for all the emigrants who came to him. Even Thomas Mann came to him. [laughter]

WESCHLER: You mentioned also that he had a son.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he had a son who was studying later in.... Schickele suffered from asthma, and so did his son, and every time he had an exam, he became an attack of asthma. So they went to Nice, and the doctor said it was too low, it was too near to the Mediterranean and that they should go to a higher place. So then they went to Vence, which is where Picasso lived, and there it seems that both had better health then. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: What eventually became of Schickele?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, eventually he died, like all people who were older then, you know.

WESCHLER: Did he die before the Nazi invasion of France,

or did he flee France?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. We were away. I don't know what he did. I only know that he didn't go to America like all the others. I think he stayed in France.

WESCHLER: Can you describe his personality a little bit, what it was like to be with him?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was very temperamental, and he was the master of the house. But this was so natural: the Germans always considered men who were intellectual as he was always the kind who reigns above everybody else. But he was also a very good raconteur. And also good--we could have a fight with him, and it was not personal, you know; he liked discussions and discretions and controversial things. But since he was not Jewish, I think he was safe in France.

WESCHLER: Who were his best friends among the emigrés?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, Marcuse was a great friend of his, and all of them--all were friends. We were friends, and Hermann Kesten, and also Luchaire writes about him.

WESCHLER: Now that you've brought up Marcuse, why don't we cross the Atlantic and come here? We've talked a little bit about Ludwig Marcuse elsewhere, but we haven't really talked about what he was like here in Los Angeles. You might tell what happened to him here.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, I didn't tell you yet when he became professor at USC?

WESCHLER: We haven't heard anything about him here.

FEUCHTWANGER: He lived near the ocean in a very nice--no, first he lived in Hollywood, and it was not a very nice apartment. Then he left there and went near the ocean, to a very beautiful house, a very comfortable little apartment. But he had to drive, of course. First he was for a short time in Mandeville Canyon, and he had a quarrel with his landlady. He was so angry that he left the house and went down the hill in a terrible hurry, couldn't take the curve, and had a big accident. It was a very long time that he was in the hospital and in rather dangerous conditions. It was even worse because he fell into a patch of poison ivy, and this together with his broken bones was really a very terrible incident.

WESCHLER: Was this display of anger typical of him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was typical of him. He could get very angry, but it didn't last long usually. What was best on him was that it didn't last; also when he had a fight with somebody, he could take it also. He could fight and fight very wildly, but he could also take it, you know. He liked to fight; he liked controversy. I think I told you that he was angry in Sanary about my husband's secretary because she always went to him and told him everything what my husband said; and then he finally broke with her. He was very good friends at first with her. She had kind of salon there and invited lots of people. But he

told me that he broke now with my husband's secretary-- that was the European secretary--because she was such a gossip. He said, "You know, I don't want to hear what other people tell about me. I know that I tell often things which they wouldn't like, and always to have been told.... So I broke with her." I didn't know why their friendship had ended, and I tried always to reconcile them until he told me that was the reason. And then another writer, Robert Neumann, he wrote in a book or an article--I don't remember, but I have read it--that this lady was the greatest gossip ever found and the greatest gossip secretary he ever met.

WESCHLER: Well, returning to Marcuse: you told me a wonderful story about his wife and he having a fight one day.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes. One day his wife came to me and said, "You know, my husband told me I belong to him like his pants. Should I really take that? I think that's too much." Then I said, "I consider it a great compliment." And then she was satisfied, and she came back to him and said--it was all over, the anger.

When he had to go to the university, he was afraid of left turns. There were no freeways; anyway, he wouldn't have gone over the freeway. But he had to take off an hour earlier because for the left turns he had always to go around the blocks not to have a left turn, to make a left

turn. He admired me so much that I didn't care about that.

WESCHLER: How did he get his job at USC?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was a very great friend of von Hofe, who admired him also. Von Hofe considered himself a kind of student of his because of his writings and so. He asked him to be a teacher in the German department. Although his dialect, his American pronunciation, was Prussian English, which is even more atrocious than Bavarian English, he was a very great attraction for the students. They were fascinated by him, because he had a pragmatic attitude and didn't teach everything which was in the book. He always showed his own opinions, which were sometimes very controversial.

WESCHLER: Do you remember any in particular?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I was only there once. He invited me once for a seminar, and it was a seminar about Lion Feuchtwanger. And there he took much care not to make anything pragmatic or contradictional. [Each of the students] had to speak about another book of my husband. It was more in my honor he did that. [laughter]

WESCHLER: So there, anyway, he was on best behavior. What had he been doing before he got his job at USC? How was he surviving?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was writing articles, also for other countries, you know, for Germany and so, after 1945--for the Swiss, and Austrians probably. And he wrote books, and

some of them were best sellers. He wrote a book about [Ignatius] Loyola, about Richard Wagner; I forgot the others. But they were very well received. They were not great successes, but he could live on it. He was from a wealthy family, but of course they lost everything.

And then, with what he earned beside his writing as a professor, he could finally buy a little house in Benedict Canyon [1870 Benedict Canyon Drive]. It was very small, but he loved it very much. The garden behind the house went straight up on the hill, like in a canyon. But he had a little place in the garden where he could write; it was very steep to go there. He was really happy. I could say that for the first time I saw him really happy. And then came the big Bel-Air fire. The fire jumped over the San Diego Freeway and over the canyon also. The fire was on top of the canyon and jumped over the canyon and didn't go down the hill, and his house didn't burn. But later on, it turned out that it was a great disaster that the house didn't burn down, because if it had burned down, the insurance would have paid everything.

WESCHLER: And what happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: The fire jumped over the canyon. The fire was mostly driven by the Santa Ana wind. Usually after the Santa Ana wind in the fall comes the first rain, and it was an enormous rain; it was a deluge. And the dirt

on the hill was not held by the plants and the trees because they were burned. So the whole hill slid down and into his house through the rear windows. They had only time to go out in front, through the front window; even the door was already blocked from the mud. They could only go out by the window and saved only their lives and nothing else. His books and everything what they had acquired.... And that was not the only thing: he thought at least if he lost so many things and also his house-- which he thought he would like to die in this house, stay there for his whole life--[he thought it was insured]. But the insurance company said it was not fire (although it came from the fire originally) and it was not a sliding. When he took out the insurance for the house, he said, "I want to be insured against everything what could happen to a house." So he was also insured against sliding. But then the insurance company said this was not sliding: it was "flood." And that was the only thing for which he was not insured. They had not told him; maybe they even wouldn't have accepted for flood. But nobody would think that Benedict Canyon would be flooded. This was just a rip-off. They didn't tell him; they just said you couldn't do anything. You cannot fight an insurance company, even less than city hall. So he has been asked by all the television stations to speak about his case, because it was a kind of

school case, you know; it was the first case in this way. And then the laws have been changed, I think. At first they didn't want to insure anybody for sliding, and I think the law now says that they have to insure also for sliding. Anyway, but he was not the beneficiary of that.

WESCHLER: So what happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: And then he was so unhappy. I don't remember. I think his apartment was after the fire, but I don't-- I think he was still here, the apartment on Ocean Drive. But he was not happy here anymore after he lost his house. So he went back to Germany, near Munich, on a lake called Tegernsee. And there he lived and was received immediately as a hero.

WESCHLER: Was he Jewish?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but not his wife.

WESCHLER: And he felt comfortable going back to Germany and living in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not very much, but he was a fighter. He said, "I will fight with them, and I don't take anything by them." He was so tyrannical with the Germans that he imposed his personality on them, and he was very much fêted that he came back. They had finally some relation again to the old Germany before Hitler. He was so much in demand for television and radio and articles that he

couldn't even follow all those demands. But he made very good money then and lived very comfortably, on the Tegernsee. And other people came back also to see him.

But then his wife died, and this was a great tragedy for him. He told his friend, von Hofe, that he wants to die, too; he has no more reason to live anymore. And then von Hofe invited him to come here. [For] a long time he didn't want to do anything, also not to travel or so. But then he came and lived also in the house of Dr. von Hofe. He wanted only to see me--very few people he wanted to see. And he always says he cannot go over it and he has lost his spirit. Later on, he was invited to Switzerland, where there was a great patron of art and literature. He was so grouchy always with people after this terrible tragedy. He said always, "I cannot sleep in this bed. I'm not used to this bed. I've not enough blankets"--or whatever. He had always something to criticize. And this was a kind of palace where he lived and had all sorts of servants also. But this man was so taken by him, and also his personality and his fighting spirit, that he said, "You can say what you want and do what you want, but you stay here and I take care of you."

WESCHLER: Who was this man? Do you remember his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think the name was Reinhardt, but I'm not sure. I know that one with the name of Reinhardt was

such a patron, but if it was this one I'm not so sure.

[Actually this was Erwin Braun.]

Anyway, for a while he was there, and then he went back to Wiesee [on the Tegernsee]. And then, all of a sudden, a young woman came to see him and thank him for an article which he wrote which she liked so much. She brought him something, a cake which she knew he likes or something. And he threw her out and said, "I don't want you, and I don't want your cake!" But she was insisting, and finally there was a great friendship between her and him. He came also here and he was a changed man again. And he was not young anymore. But he was not healthy: his heart gave out, and after a while he died. But at least he was a happy man, finding this young woman again.

TAPE NUMBER: XXV, SIDE TWO

SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

WESCHLER: We have a few more observations about Ludwig Marcuse.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I forgot to mention that he wrote a book, My Twentieth Century [Mein zwanzigste Jahrhundert]. And in his book he said that the best thing that happened in his life was that his wife forced him to marry her. Because first he didn't want to marry. Then, he told me once that there was a time when he wanted to divorce her and marry this girl who was lying beside me at the concentration camp.

WESCHLER: This was a woman in Sanary.

FEUCHTWANGER: In Sanary. She was from Germany, just for visiting there, and then she married a very rich Frenchman. And then she had to go to the concentration camp, because, although she was French then by marriage, she was born in Germany, and as a German she had to go. And she came in this great style.

WESCHLER: Do you remember her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: No.

WESCHLER: You really don't or you're just not going to tell?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I don't know her name. Her first name

was Anna Marie, that's all. But I don't know her other name. And also she married a Frenchman.*

WESCHLER: And she was part of the scene in Sanary?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Another person I wanted to talk about or to pick up again with is Bruno Frank. In Europe, of course, he was a friend of yours, and he was also here in Los Angeles. Was he happy here in Los Angeles?

FEUCHTWANGER: I would say nobody was really happy. First of all, we knew what happened in Europe, what happened to the Jews, the big war and those terrible, terrible losses of human life; so nobody could be happy. We did our best to forget sometimes, and we also could forget it. Here the landscape and the climate and all that was wonderful to live in; also we were not used to that from Germany. But everybody was in a way homesick, not for going back, but homesick for what was, what we left, what was before and what we thought would never come again. So most of them, most of us, were very pessimistic; maybe my husband was the least pessimistic one. But it was also that many of those people, like Bruno Frank.... First of all, he was wealthy by his family and so, and also probably he got also some restitution later. He wrote also for the movies. For instance, with Dieterle he made The Hunchback

*See Tape XIX, Side 2.

of Notre Dame. And I saw this movie on the ship when I came from Lisbon to America.

WESCHLER: Was he satisfied with working in Hollywood, or did he find that difficult?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think he showed as if he would be satisfied, but he was never really satisfied because he had only one great success here: that was A Man Called Cervantes. It was a best seller, and also a great success, but he had no other success here. So he was not--I think a real writer is never satisfied.

WESCHLER: Talking about Hollywood in general--we've talked occasionally about some people who worked in Hollywood--were there any members of the emigré community who really were happy working in Hollywood in ways that they had not been happy doing other things? Were there members who really found themselves as screenwriters?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, there were lots of people at the movies, of course. There was Billy Wilder. I didn't know him before. He came from Vienna when he was very young, and he was one of the greatest successes here and still is. He wrote and made the movies, all the movies of Marilyn Monroe, one The Apartment, a very famous movie. And he is really great success and also very rich man. And there was William Wyler, who came also, I think--I don't know exactly if he came from Alsace-Lorraine or somewhere.

--

He was the nephew of Carl Laemmle, who was one of the founders of the great film companies here. And he had enormous success here. I'm sure he was happy here, because all those people came very young. He was one of the directors who had the most number of Oscars. The first was for Best Years of Our Lives, and then The Heiress, and Friendly Persuasion, I think, was one. And then he had a very beautiful American wife and lived in Beverly Hills in a beautiful house. I met him just the other day. He's still very good humored but--and I have to tell you something what he told us. During the war he was in the army, and he was observer in a plane. And he told my husband once, "You know, the other day I flew over Berlin, and I saw that you left your light burning in the bathroom." [laughter] "That's not allowed during an air raid." Or something like that.

WESCHLER: How about Otto Preminger?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, Preminger was a very well known theater director in Vienna. I remember when I met him first; that was in New York. There was a big party for my husband; I think his literary agent gave this party for him. And there was Katharine....

WESCHLER: Hepburn?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, the older one, much more famous.

WESCHLER: You can't get more famous than Katharine

Hepburn....

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, she was. She was a classic, more a classic actress [Katharine Cornell]. And Maeterlinck, I think, was there too. And my escort was Preminger. He said, "You probably never heard of me." And I said, "Of course I heard of you. You were a great director in Vienna." And he was so happy, you wouldn't believe it. That really made his day, because he was here absolutely unknown. And then he became here the great director also.

And there was Sam Spiegel, who I met at the Robinsons'. The actor [Edward G.] Robinson gave always enormous parties in his house, also in Beverly Hills, in the north. It was really a mansion, not a house, and he had a famous gallery, a special house beside his house where they had the most famous French painters, impressionist paintings. It was a private gallery. And enormous parties he gave over there. And there I met also the first time Sam Spiegel. He looked huge, very tall, very broad, and very, also fat. Later on he lost much of his fat. But he attracted me because something was in him which looked so very male, you know, very masculine. Something which made him outstanding. Not only by his body, but he had something which was almost tyrannical, I could say. Anyway, I was looking at him and observing him, and later on

he became also this great man. I think he is the richest of all those movie people. And he got also lots of Oscars; one was The Bridge on the River Kwai. And then he wanted to make a film of Goya. He wanted an option from my husband, and my husband said, "I think you will have great difficulties because...." Sam Spiegel said, "I have to go to Spain. I cannot make this movie in any other part of the world except in Spain." So my husband said that Robert Rossen tried it already--he was also one of the great directors who got lots of Oscars; he died early--he tried, and it was impossible. He went twice there and he couldn't [do it]. But then Speigel said, "When nobody can do it, I can do it."

WESCHLER: Why was there trouble doing it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Because there was the Inquisition in the [story], so the Catholics didn't want it. Then Franco didn't want it because Goya was in a way a rebel. And also there was the Duke of Alba [Jacobo Maria del Pilar Carlos Manuel Stuart Fitz-James y Falco, also known as the Duke of Berwick], who said he doesn't want that his ancestor had an affair with a common painter, even was painted naked by this painter. This man was the richest man in Spain and had a great influence on Franco also. But on the other hand, everybody knew that the Countess of Alba had no children. And he got the title later from

somewhere. But that didn't matter. He had a big spread in Life magazine once about his life and his ancestors and everything. His daughter had married, and all that was treated in Life magazine.

WESCHLER: And if she had any children, he might have been one of Goya's great-great-grandchildren.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, it's true. [laughter] But she had no children. It even has been said that she died because she had an abortion. It's also in the novel. But anyway, they didn't allow it. Sam Spiegel went and came back. He came with tears in his eyes, and he told my husband, "Please, give me another option." And then I think he had three options. You know, that's where all those books [in our library] come from: they come mostly from options or films which have been bought. Because with a book that has been sold--even when it is in the Book-of-the-Month Club, which is most important--you cannot make any money with books which are sold at bookshops. But every book which has been printed by Book-of-the-Month, or accepted by the Book-of-the-Month Club, was automatically bought by the movies. Almost all of my husband's great novels have been bought by the movies, and this made a lot of money. And that's why we could buy this house and have this library. So also Sam Spiegel contributed to that. [laughter] But he couldn't make it.

Nobody could make it. That's why the Russians found out. When the Russians found out, they went to Spain and made a documentary film, and they then used this documentary film to make the other film, the [Goya].

WESCHLER: Were you good friends with Edward G. Robinson?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, very good friends.

WESCHLER: What was he like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was a little bit like in his--as an actor, he was very intelligent and he had something superior, you know. He was a small man, but you felt always he's a superior man. Although he was a very warm person, personality. I remember when he came the first time to this house, he said, "You know, you cannot believe how happy I am that Lion Feuchtwanger found this house and this environment." Because he was such a great admirer--before he knew my husband, he knew all his books. But then there was a little estrangement that came with Un-American [Activities] Committee, because it seems that he himself was suspected. So he evaded my husband because he had also hearings. And that was [the same] with many. There was Jo Swerling, who wanted to make a movie out of Simone. Really, many people didn't want to be seen with Lion anymore because they themselves were in danger. I remember that we were invited by one of the great movie people, and we met Robinson there when he just came from

Washington where he had had a voluntary hearing. (He didn't want to be called for a hearing, but he said he wants to testify what a good American he is.) And there he was: you could feel already that he was afraid to be seen with us. That was the last time that my husband was with him together.

I later on met him when he was divorced from his first wife, and had married another one. He was very happy with the second wife. His first wife [Gladys Cassell] was very selfish. He loved her very much. She was Gentile, and he was really so very much devoted to her. I think he loved her too much, and so she took it for granted. And all of a sudden she wanted a divorce. She left always for Paris--she was a long time in Paris--and he had this boy. He had always his work--he was very busy--and the little boy had only the governess. That's why he didn't do very good later on. (You probably heard about it.) He had all kind of trouble always, with drinking and also drinking by driving, and driving--things like that. So then she divorced him: she asked for all the paintings. I don't know how that was, but in those days a woman, or maybe even now, could ask everything what she wanted from a divorce. Then he bought back a lot of the paintings from her later. He began again to collect paintings, but at first he was everything lost, you know, his whole life. His

paintings were really his life.

WESCHLER: So then he married another woman after that?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not just after that; it was much later.

And he was very happy with her. She was not at all like his first woman. The first one was very good looking, not too beautiful but good looking. His second wife [Jane Bodenheimer] was more timid and modest, but when you looked at her, she had a very beautiful face. But she was evading everything what was obvious, you know, in her dress. But he was very happy with her. I was very glad about it. We met sometimes in the theater or in concerts, and he always was so really enthusiastic to see me again.

WESCHLER: Was there ever any mention made of the Un-American Activities [Committee]?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, nothing. But I remember when he came back from Washington and we met him the last time, then he spoke about it. He said, "You know, I don't want to be called or to be characterized as a conspirator." He didn't even know what that means. He thought it was even worse than--it was already bad enough to be called a conspiracy (McCarthy said always like that), but he thought it was just like something which is a great crime. He said, "What should that be that I am in a conspiracy? What would that mean?" And my husband explained to him

what this word means. But he was really absolutely confused in those days.

WESCHLER: Did Lion resent when people stopped seeing him because of that?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he understood it very well that it was a kind of self-defense.

WESCHLER: Getting back to this issue of the emigrés and all these directors: we talked about Spiegel, Wilder, Wyler, Robinson, and so forth--Robinson was not so much an emigré. Did the successful ones associate a great deal with the other emigrés, or were they a different community?

FEUCHTWANGER: The funny thing was they did not. It's very funny. Thomas Mann would have liked so much to be invited by the movie people. And he never was invited. He told me once, "I can't understand that they ignore us always." We met many of them first at the house of Homolka, who had a great mansion and a great social life. He himself and his wife had lots of money. We met there Ambassador Davies when Davies was here from Washington. He was a friend of the parents of Mrs. Homolka, the Meyers. (Mrs. Agnes Meyer was a great journalist, a famous journalist, from German descent; she was very proud of her German descent.) So when Davies was here as a visitor, then Homolka asked him, "I want to give a party. Whom do you want to meet?" And he said, "First of all, I want

to see Lion Feuchtwanger again. I met him in Russia." So we were there, and there were all the people from the movies there. There was Goldwyn there and [George] Cukor and--I don't remember all the names. And they asked me always, "Tell me; we heard also that Mr. Werfel was here. What did he write?" So I told them. "Oh, I thought it was your husband who wrote that." [laughter] The Forty Days of Musa Dagh, I think. And never--Thomas Mann was not invited. I don't know why. And all those people invited us afterwards, like Goldwyn and so. It was very funny that he was absolutely ignored.

WESCHLER: Do you know why he was ignored?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was not very much known. You know his only success here was Magic Mountain, and the later works which were more important were not known here. They said always they are too Germanic; they are too long, they said always. The only fame was that he had the Nobel Prize. And I think the people were shy also. Even with my husband they were always a little shy to speak with him. They always thought--they had an inferiority complex. And my husband couldn't understand that. He said, "I with my poor English--why should they have an inferiority complex?" But they always thought that those immigrants, they are so high or intellectual that they would look down their nose to the film. And it was true: many did that,

many were like that. But not my husband, who was always very much interested in film and in the possibility of films. Even when they had made many bad films, the possibilities were so great.

WESCHLER: One always hears stories about how stupid the directors were, and the production people at the various studios. Were there any production people, or purely Hollywood people, who struck you as very intelligent people?

FEUCHTWANGER: But they were mostly--mostly were intelligent, and mostly were from Europe. Mostly were emigrants. Also the writers: for instance, there was one, Helen Deutsch, who was a very famous American writer and very intelligent. And we knew a lot of--I don't know the not-intelligent; I only know the intelligent movie people.

WESCHLER: I've heard so many anecdotes about the way they bungled things and were insensitive to cultural considerations in making movies.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Of course, I think it was one of the big men--was it Warner or Goldwyn?--who said, "I don't want films with message. When I want to send a message, I give it to Western Union." Something like that. That's a famous proverb here. But they had so much respect for authority and for intelligence. The directors and the writers were mostly European emigrants. There was [Walter] Reisch and there was [Joe] Pasternak and there was [Michael]

Curtiz and [Henry] Koster (originally his name was Koestelanetz)--they were famous writers, are still famous, although they are now very old, most of them. I never met one who was.... Maybe some actors were not very intelligent, but it's not necessary for an actor.

WESCHLER: How about the production people, the heads of the studios? Did they strike you as intelligent people?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but, you know, I'm a little pragmatic about intelligence. They had a natural intelligence. It's something else. They were not learned people, maybe, but they had an instinct for dramatics, or for their own work. And I don't care if they had read Goethe or not, or Shakespeare maybe even, because they had natural intelligence. Of course, there were--one was [Harry] Cohn, I think, who was known as a great dictator and treated people badly or so, and also Jack Warner, and all those people. But that's another kind. I think it's not necessary that you have to be well read to make good films. Of course, there is John Huston, who is a great movie man and also a very cultured man. And John Houseman who made movies: he was originally from Rumania, and then he lived in France and had also a French wife; so nobody considered him an emigrant, but he was also an emigrant.

WESCHLER: Were Houseman and Huston on good terms with the emigré community? Did you see much of them?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Houseman we met through Chaplin and Norman

Lloyd, and he was here also often. And then Huston I met also at the Homolkas. You could meet everybody there. When you knew the Homolkas, then you met everybody.

WESCHLER: This has all in a way been a digression from Bruno Frank. Do you have any other stories about him here in Los Angeles that you would like to tell? What was his general feeling about working in films? Was he happy?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he was not very happy, because also it didn't continue. He had not enough work for the movies. I don't think that he was very happy here.

WESCHLER: He died...

FEUCHTWANGER: ...rather young.

WESCHLER: Before the end of the war, or just after the end of the war.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I think the war was already ended.

WESCHLER: Nineteen forty-five was the date that he died.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, ja, I don't know. Maybe it was before the end of the war. He had just come back from New York, and I think he overdid it in New York. He had already before a heart condition, and he shouldn't have gone to New York.

WESCHLER: What did he do there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, tried [to write] probably, also for movies or so. Or theater. I don't remember; I don't know so much about what he did. And then there was Alfred

Neumann, who wrote for the movies and had a good name. And Leonhard Frank.

WESCHLER: I was going to ask you about him. We haven't talked about him much.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was a very good looking man with iron gray hair and very.... He was a proletarian originally. I think he was a laborer. But he was very much interested in literature. I heard about him before I met him:

when I was skiing, I met a Frenchman with the name of [Henri] Bing; he made drawings for the Simplicissimus, usually for a text or so. He was a very famous drawer or designer, or what you call it, an artist. And he told me about Leonhard Frank, that he is a friend of his, that Leonhard Frank was in the army in the First World War; and he told me how he always sent him something to eat or so. That's what I had heard about Leonhard Frank.

And then I read his books. One of his famous books was Die Räuberbande, and it was very famous, but I liked another one better which was called The Ochsenfurt Men's Quartet [Die Ochsenfurter Männerquartett]. He came from this town (Ochsenfurt is on the Main), and this was a very good book. And in Germany he was very successful, also in the movies. He had always affairs with very beautiful movie queens, and he was very attractive for women. I saw him here always driving very fast in an open car, a

convertible. And I had also convertible. He was so occupied with the traffic that he didn't see me. And I always raced him.

WESCHLER: Here in Los Angeles?

FEUCHTWANGER: Here in Los Angeles.

WESCHLER: What did he do here in Los Angeles?

FEUCHTWANGER: He wrote for the movies. He was rather successful. And then he went back to Europe. And it was very funny: he was very communistic without being a Communist. He lived in East Germany, but he lived also in West Germany. He went always from one part to the other and was in good shape, in good relations with both governments.

WESCHLER: What other sense can you give us of his personality?

FEUCHTWANGER: I can only say that he was very successful with women. [laughter] I didn't know him so well, but some said he was rather ruthless with women; others said it was the fault of the women, that they didn't let him alone. But anyway he was a good-looking man, and he wrote good books.

WESCHLER: Okay. Right now I'd like to move a little bit from a discussion of Hollywood. We talked a good deal off tape about something called the Pacifica Press, and we might mention it on tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: I know only that they printed my husband's play The Devil in Boston, and it got a prize by the bookbinders or I don't know what it is--a kind of union or so. Because they found it so beautifully printed.

WESCHLER: It was a press that was here in Los Angeles and printed several of the emigré writers.

FEUCHTWANGER: I only know that they printed also Thomas Mann.

WESCHLER: And apparently it was run by Ernst Gottlieb and Felix Guggenheim.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: You are especially well acquainted with Felix Guggenheim. Perhaps you can talk about him a little bit.

FEUCHTWANGER: It's very difficult to talk about him. We were very good friends, and now he is very sick. He had a stroke. He always took care of my European business; he was my representative.

WESCHLER: Why don't we start at the beginning. How did you first meet him?

FEUCHTWANGER: I first met him--and he even didn't remember--also skiing at the Ulmer Hütte in Arlberg, in Austria. I saw him with a friend, whom I also met later, with whom he had a big book society (it was kind of like the Book-of-the-Month, something like that in Germany).

WESCHLER: When was this? In the twenties?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Germany in the beginning of the twenties. And he had also something to do with the great union theater which was called the Volksbühne, the volks theater. His publishing house had also, was...together.

WESCHLER: Was united, merged.

FEUCHTWANGER: United, in a way, yes, but I don't know exactly what it was. I only know that he was already famous book publisher. Then he married a film actress, and then he came here. I met him here, and he looked rather very simple. He had a simple apartment, and he didn't look rich at all. Also he was from a rich family and was very wealthy in Germany.

WESCHLER: Did you meet him shortly after you arrived here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. He invited us to his apartment. In the [San Fernando] Valley he had first a ceramic factory where he occupied all those people who came from Europe and who had nothing else. For instance, one who was a great lawyer in Munich, and also a playwright, mostly a comedy playwright (his name was Ferdinand Kahn). And here he was absolutely lost. He was a little man. (This was the man I told you about, I think, when I was first at a ball with my husband and another young man was very much in love with me, and Ferdinand Kahn told me, "Why don't you stay with Lion? He is a much more solid man.") [laughter] He came here and was with a girlfriend

who was a puppetmaker (or a dollmaker, artistic dolls). But Guggenheim had a ceramic factory and occupied all those people who had not other things, didn't find other occupations.

WESCHLER: Had he arrived here earlier than the Nazis?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I think he was first in England. And then he had also property in the Valley--orange groves, I think. I never asked people where they got their money. He is very rich, and maybe those orange groves were later real estate subjects, or whatever you call it. Anyway, he was very rich then, and lives now in Beverly Hills, has a beautiful collection of antique books, mostly also very beautiful Hebrew books, and also Chinese horses, a beautiful collection.

WESCHLER: Now, he was, in effect, a literary agent.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and then he is what they called a silent partner of the Paul Kohner agency, which is the greatest literary agency and also for actors.

WESCHLER: Was he a lawyer?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Germany, he was a lawyer, but not here. It helped a lot. He had special knowledge about the copyright, and he gave good advice in this capacity. Also he worked with Kohner, mostly with movie people between here and Germany. The great actors from Germany were his actors. He had always to do something. I never asked, and

I never knew exactly what he was. But there came now out another refugee, Herr Frederick Kohner, who is a brother of Paul Kohner, and he wrote now a biography about this brother Paul. You can read this biography. [Der Zauberer von Sunset Boulevard]

WESCHLER: To find out about Guggenheim. How did Guggenheim become more involved with Lion's work?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he said he was an admirer of his work. He was very proud to help him.

WESCHLER: Was he helpful even while Lion was alive? Was he his agent?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Yes, he did a lot for him, in Germany mostly. But also he advised him often even when he didn't work for him. My husband had another agent from Europe, Otto Klement. He's still living here, but he's not very well; we sometimes speak with each other over the telephone. Klement was a very good agent in his days. He made all the contract with the big publishers here, with the big publishing houses, [G.P.] Putnam's [Sons] and Viking Press and all those. He also sold most of my husband's books to the movies. But Guggenheim sometimes gave him advice, and also he worked for him--I don't remember what it was--I think with East Germany or so. In any case, he made the contract about the movie Goya with East Germany. He went to East Germany for this purpose.

WESCHLER: And he became more and more helpful to you after Lion died?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was true.

WESCHLER: And he was also not only with Lion, but also with Erich Maria Remarque.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh yes, of course. And Paulette Goddard [Mrs. Remarque] is very grateful; always she writes him beautiful letters how grateful she is that he is still working in her and Remarque's behalf. He had also Werfel, and I think also Heinrich Mann, The Blue Angel.

WESCHLER: Can you give us a very quick portrait of Guggenheim? What is he like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he is enormously liked by everybody. He is very enthusiastic; he can be very enthusiastic. All what he tells me, for instance, should make me very egotistical. He made people so happy because he has this way to tell them nice things, which he really believes. Didn't you meet him at the Consulate General of Germany?

WESCHLER: I don't remember, myself.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, he was always there. He's not a tall man. He had big glasses. He was always working hard and going to Germany and to Switzerland and back and was full of enthusiasm and work and activity. And everybody says how they liked him, all the publishers with whom he had to do in Germany. And if it's in English, then you can

read it--he has a chapter about him in Frederick Kohner's book. You know, Frederick Kohner wrote those novels like Gidget, on the beach. But he is not proud of that. He wrote other books he is more proud of. But it makes a lot of money.

WESCHLER: And Guggenheim recently suffered a stroke. For the interest of the people reading the tape, during the entire time that I've been interviewing Marta, she's been working double time because she's had to take on all this work that ordinarily Mr. Guggenheim was doing himself.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and it's all so uncertain. I don't know what kind of contracts he made or precontract discussions, because he had no notes, he left no notes. And I don't know what happened. [pause in tape] Guggenheim also made a contract on account of Erfolg (Success) in Munich. They made a film out of it, and he did the necessary things. He went there and had discussions with the director and all that. I know that the contract has been made (I signed myself the contract), but I don't know what happened later. And I didn't want to tell those people that he is not my advisor anymore, at least not for the moment, because they could take advantage and think I don't know anything what has to be done. So I'm very careful with my utterances with them.

WESCHLER: Okay. You have mentioned Erich Maria Remarque,

and we haven't yet talked about him on this tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Oh, he was a very wonderful person, and he came always to bring his new wives, or loves, or whatever it was. The last one was before he married Goddard. She was a famous dancer; she also was a speaker. She danced and spoke at the same time, or lectured or so. No--it was more for theater, I think, theater roles. But I forgot her name. She was a famous dancer.

WESCHLER: Were you close friends with Remarque?

FEUCHTWANGER: Close friends, no, but friends. We had no close friends, very few close friends. I think really close friends were only Arnold Zweig and Bertolt Brecht. At first, also, Bruno Frank--before he was married. But close friends is very rare to have.

WESCHLER: Okay. Can you describe your friendship as it was with Remarque?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, didn't I tell you when we drunk together at the Ullsteins' in Berlin? I think we spoke about that

WESCHLER: I'm not sure. Tell it again.

FEUCHTWANGER: With the literary director of the famous publishing and newspaper house of Ullstein, the oldest one gave a big party over the whole house. It was a palace, you know, not a house. And we were sitting together with the director of the literary department, Dr. Hertz, and there was also Remarque. And we decided that we wanted to

drink Dr. Hertz under the table. Remarque could drink a lot, and in those days I also could stand something. So we drank and drank, but finally we both were under the table and Dr. Hertz was still very alive. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay, what did Remarque do here in Los Angeles?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had here a great collection of very famous paintings, impressionist paintings. And when he left for Germany or Switzerland, or when he left anyway, he gave his paintings to the museum for exhibition, so he didn't have to have the insurance to pay and so he was sure that they wouldn't be stolen or anything. But this was before he married Paulette Goddard, I think. And then he went to Switzerland with her.

WESCHLER: Was he working with the films here partly?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I think he wrote more for himself. They made films from his novels, but he didn't work for--maybe he collaborated for the script, but that I wouldn't know.

WESCHLER: And was he in fairly good spirits here?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Only he drank always a little bit too much, and that was not so good for his health. I think it had something to do with his work. He was a very slow worker--which also Bruno Frank was--and he was never satisfied with his work; that was the reason probably that he drank. He was never a drunken man, you know; he always behaved

very well. But it was too much for him, for his health. We met him often at Elisabeth Bergner's house, who was living here with her husband, Paul Czinner. She was a great actress, as you probably know. She was first accepted immediately in England, where she made also movies, and then she went back to Germany and had a fantastic comeback as an old lady, because she played the part of the actress who was a friend of Shaw in [Jerome Kilty's] Dear Liar. And she played this part which was an enormous success in Germany.

Then there was Luise Rainer. Do you know about her? She was a great actress and had twice got an Oscar here; first in The Good Earth, she played the female part, and the second, I forgot. She was married for a while with Clifford Odets, but I think she loved him too much--that's no good--so their marriage didn't last. It was a little bit like Marilyn Monroe, who loved Arthur Miller too much: he couldn't work, you know; she wanted always to be with him. That's a little bit like Luise Rainer was also with Odets. Then she divorced him and married a very good person, a nice person, who's a great publisher in England [John Knittel]. He had a great publishing house in England. The other day she was here, and we were invited together at [the house of] common friends. She looked beautiful. She was also on television. She is now no actress anymore, but sometimes she plays or she lectures or has recitals.

She has a beautiful daughter, and I saw her here on television. She has beautiful bones; her face is very thin and has beautiful bone structure. I met her by chance at an exhibition here, and then we were invited together. We had good relations.

WESCHLER: Okay, one last question to wrap up today. We've mentioned the Pacifica Press. One other emigré press was the Aurora Press. Do you know anything about this?

FEUCHTWANGER: This was in New York, I think, and it was mostly for, only for emigrants. My husband gave them, allowed them to print something of his work, the short stories, because they wanted his name to start the publishing house [Venedig/Texas].

WESCHLER: Who was running that?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think [Wieland Herzfelde]. He was a German writer, very leftist. He went to England, I think, and his brother became a famous painter or caricaturist in England [John Heartfield].

WESCHLER: But you didn't have very many relations with the Aurora Press, outside of just that they published this work?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. But you know that they printed also Anna Seghers. She was famous here; she had also a movie here. One of her novels, The Seventh Cross, has been made into a movie, and it was a great success here.

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